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THE ILLINOIS STATE
FEDERATION OF LABOR
DURING WORLD WAR I

NANCY WILSON OWEN

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Nancy Wilson Owen
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THE ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

DURING WORLD WAR I

(TITLE)

BY

Nancy Wilson Owen
=

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Science in Education

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
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INTRODUCTION

During World War I, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, became the symbol of labor's co-operation with the administration of President Woodrow Wilson in the struggle for victory. Many times when editors discussed the loyalty of labor, they cited the example of Gompers' war work. However, Samuel Gompers was not the only prominent labor leader to put both his prestige and hard work into the war effort. The Illinois State Federation of Labor, especially its President, John H. Walker, and its Secretary-Treasurer, Victor A. Olander, gave wholehearted support to the government of the United States during this time of conflict.

John Walker was a trade unionist by birth. Born in Scotland on April 27, 1872, he came to the United States with his family in 1882. His father worked in the coal mines and as a union organizer until he was black-listed from the Illinois mines because of his union activity. With only four years of schooling behind him, John Walker began work in the mines at Coal City, Illinois, at the age of ten. At eleven he joined the Knights of Labor and later the Miners' Federation and the Mine Laborers. In 1896 Walker began his association with the United Mine Workers of America by organizing Local No. 505 at Central City, Illinois. He held every local position in the union and many state-wide offices. In 1905 he became President of the Illinois Mine Workers, a post he held for eight and a half years. Three years after becoming their president, Walker brought the miners into the Illinois State Federation of Labor. At the October 1913

convention of the Federation, the delegates elected John Walker President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.¹

Victor A. Olander, a year younger in age than Walker, gained his office in the Illinois State Federation of Labor a year after Walker. Born in Chicago in 1873, Olander finished six years of public school before beginning work as a factory boy. After two years of this, Olander became a sailor on the Great Lakes and started his union activity. In 1901 he was one of the business agents for the Lake Seamen's Union. In 1903 he became assistant secretary for this same union, and in 1909 he was made the general secretary. He was elected Second Vice President of the International Seamen's Union of America in 1902. Olander was first elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor at the October 1914 convention.²

John Walker and Victor Olander complemented each other in the leadership of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Walker was a man of feeling and strong emotions. A shrewd strategist in leading the activities of the Federation, Walker based his appeals on reasons of "decency and humanity." Olander, "one of the brainiest men in the labor movement," thought

¹John H. Keiser, "John H. Walker: Labor Leader from Illinois," Donald F. Tingley, editor, Essays in Illinois History, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), pp. 75-89.

Eugene Staley, History of the Illinois State Federation of Labor ("Social Science Studies," No. 15; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), pp. 307-308, 568.

John Walker had not been a candidate for the presidency of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in 1917. He lost a bid for the office of president of the United Mine Workers. The president-elect of the Federation, James Morris, did not assume the office because of "personal affairs." John Walker remained as president at the request of the executive board of the Federation. The following year he was again elected to the office. Illinois State Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter, July 21, 1917, p. 1.

²Staley, pp. 309-310, 568.

systematically and analytically. His executive ability and Walker's warmth and feeling for other people combined to form an effective and stable leadership for the Illinois State Federation of Labor.³

By the time of World War I, nearly one thousand organizations were affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor.⁴ The Federation counted 101,455 members for 1917 and 103,355 for 1918.⁵ It had members from throughout the state, and its rolls included unionists who worked in the large manufacturing plants in Chicago as well as coal miners from the southern part of the state. The Weekly News Letter of the Illinois State Federation of Labor provided internal communication. The founders and editors of this paper were Secretary-Treasurer Olander and President Walker. The Federation sent the Weekly News Letter to the secretaries of the various affiliated organizations, the delegates to the latest convention, local legislative committees, politicians, interested trade-union officials, and a few friends outside the labor movement.⁶

³Ibid., pp. 307-309.

⁴Weekly News Letter, January 20, 1917, p. 1.

⁵Staley, pp. 314-315. These figures may be low for actual membership. A new per capita tax rate went into effect in 1917, and some locals reported less than their actual membership to avoid paying the higher amount to the central organization.

The average number of wage earners in manufacturing industries in Illinois in 1919 was given as 653,114 by Paul F. Brissenden, Earnings of Factory Workers 1899 to 1927 ("Census Monographs," Vol. X; Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1929), p. 386.

The average number of wage earners in the mining industries in Illinois in 1919 was 79,123 according to the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920. Mines and Quarries, XI, p. 107.

⁶Staley, pp. 329-330.

Thus the News Letter reflects what was important to the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor--the news and views that they wanted to pass on to the members of the organization. The Weekly News Letter did not take advertisements. It served notice to members of coming events by printing routine announcements such as convention information and the places for the meetings of the State Miners' Examining Boards. The editors devoted most of its space to Illinois happenings that concerned labor and to opinions on various occurrences within the state. The State Federation of Labor was not, however, an isolated organization. Through its weekly paper it informed its readers of issues and actions throughout the United States and the rest of the world that were of special interest to trade unions. The News Letter followed closely the incidents of the Mooney case in California⁷ and often carried articles about the trade union movement in other countries, especially European ones. The News Letter gives a detailed account of the actions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor during World War I, and much of the information about the wartime activities of the Federation comes from this source.

⁷The Mooney case involved a bombing in San Francisco which killed six people during a Preparedness Parade. Thomas Mooney and Warren Billings were both labor radicals. They were convicted of the murders, but the News Letter claimed these convictions were obtained by perjury. Weekly News Letter, February 2, 1918, p. 1.

CHAPTER I

SUPPORT FOR THE WAR

The Illinois State Federation of Labor voiced support for President Wilson and the government of the United States shortly after war was declared. As the war progressed, the Federation continued its support and used its influence to help raise money for the government. Many members of the Federation served on various councils and boards to insure co-operation between labor and the government. Through this service trade-union leaders exerted an influence on decisions concerning the workers, thus protecting labor while also serving their country.

On April 12, 1917, the executive board of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, along with the Joint Labor Legislative Board of Illinois, endorsed the public statement on "American Labor's Position in Peace or in War" made a month earlier at a meeting called by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor. Those attending the meeting were some one hundred and fifty executive officers of national trade unions which were affiliated with the A.F. of L. and representatives of the four railway brotherhoods. Though this declaration was originally made when the United States' entry into the war in Europe was not yet a fact, it pledged the members of the conference to support the war and urged all members of the labor movement that if war came to "...stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic."¹

¹Weekly News Letter, April 14, 1917, pp. 3-4.

The Joint Labor Legislation Board was organized to secure co-operation

The first time that the Illinois State Federation of Labor met in a body after war was declared, the Federation reiterated its support of democracy. The thirty-fifth annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor met in Joliet from October 15 to 20, 1917. Nearly eight hundred delegates attended the convention. In a statement adopted at the convention, the delegates affirmed their loyalty and patriotism and supported the necessity of preserving the ideals of democracy for America and the world.²

Throughout the war labor linked victory in the war with the preservation of democracy and the need of a strong democracy for the optimum functioning of the labor-union movement as sufficient reason for support of the war. George Perkins, President of the Cigar Makers' International Union, wrote of seeing the effect of autocracy on labor, and how intimidating this effect was.³ The Weekly News Letter of the Illinois State Federation of Labor reminded its readers of the unhappy lot of the Belgium workers forced into slave labor in Germany and urged all to give their maximum support to the war effort.⁴ It proclaimed to its readers that a worker's failure to do

between the Illinois State Federation of Labor and organizations not in the Federation for united political action. Staley, pp. 408-411.

The executive board consisted of Walker, Olander, and the nine vice presidents of the Federation. No two vice presidents could be from the same trade. In 1917 the nine were: Robert G. Fitchie, Chicago, teamster; Ed. Carbine, Chicago, machinist; Michael J. Whalen, East St. Louis, street railway employee; Thomas Kelly, Streator, barber; Jos. W. Morton, Chicago, stationary fireman; Al Towers, Belleville, molder; Emil Reinhold, Decatur, miner; George B. Jenkins, Urbana, carpenter; and Waldo Cross, Decatur, painter. For 1918 the vice presidents were the same except Fitchie was replaced by John P. McGrath, Springfield, bartender. Staley, pp. 317, 568.

²Weekly News Letter, October 20, 1917, p. 1.

³Ibid., June 1, 1918, p. 3.

State Council News, May 17, 1918, p. 1.

⁴Weekly News Letter, April 20, 1918, pp. 3-4.

his work to the best of his ability was waste, and that if he put his strength and energy to the most effective use he would help to win the war.⁵ The support of the Illinois State Federation of Labor for the United States and the war effort was noticed beyond the labor press. The Chicago Tribune in April of 1918 praised the patriotic leadership of John H. Walker, President, and Victor Olander, Secretary-Treasurer, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.⁶

However, this support for the war did not mean that organized labor would allow itself to be suppressed under the guise of patriotism and war-time necessity. Along with labor's vocal support of the war effort ran a strong theme of the necessity of protecting freedom and justice at home as well as abroad. "American Labor's Position in Peace or in War," affirmed by the Illinois State Federation of Labor on April 12, 1917, recognized not only that organized labor should support the war but also that labor should have a voice in the formulation of the policies for waging it. The declaration stated that organized labor should "...have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies for national defense."⁷

The News Letter reminded its readers of the need to protect the rights of labor. It quoted both the Illinois State Council of Defense and the National Council of Defense on the need to recognize not only the responsibilities of labor but also its rights. The Councils also cautioned against undermining the health and safety of the

⁵Ibid., September 14, 1918, p. 2.

⁶The Chicago Daily Tribune, April 16, 1918, p. 6.

⁷Weekly News Letter, April 14, 1917, pp. 3-4.

workers in the name of the war effort.⁸ In calling on labor organizations to celebrate Independence Day in 1917, the News Letter reminded them that true democracy should be applied to all.⁹ The News Letter soundly denounced the war profiteer as well as the unjust employer. It scornfully derided the man who loudly proclaimed his patriotism at assemblies and loyalty meetings while charging the war widow an exorbitant price for food or shelter.¹⁰

However, there were those who cautioned against overprotecting labor at the expense of the public. The Chicago Tribune warned against making the public suffer by the actions of a few. It took to task those who called strikes for more money when their fellow citizens had given freely of the lives of their children.¹¹ The editor did not seem to wonder if these same laborers who were on strike at home might not also have sons and brothers who were serving their country in the armed forces. The Tribune did realize though that things could be worse. Concerning a coming visit of representatives of British and French labor to the United States, an editorial stated that "Americans will soon come to understand that their own labor unions are steadiest of all organized labor movements in adherence to representative democracy and the evolution of social progress through the methods provided in representative democracy."¹²

⁸Ibid., June 2, 1917, p. 1.

⁹Ibid., July 7, 1917, p. 2.

¹⁰Ibid. June 16, 1917, p. 1.

¹¹Ibid., August 11, 1917, p. 2.

¹²Ibid., April 6, 1918, p. 3.

¹³Ibid., November 16, 1918, p. 2.

¹⁴The Chicago Daily Tribune, October 20, 1917, p. 8.

¹⁵Ibid. October 23, 1917, p. 8.

¹⁶Ibid., March 16, 1918, p. 6.

Among the five congressmen from Illinois who voted against the United States' entering the war, there were no indications of ties with labor. William E. Mason, Charles E. Fuller, and William A. Rodenberg practiced law, while Fred A. Britten and Loren E. Wheeler engaged in business.¹³

This period in the United States exhibited super patriotism. Anyone who was not wholeheartedly for the United States' actions in the war was considered disloyal to the country. However, tolerance or intolerance of another's views often was based on factors other than that person's patriotism. At the October 1917 convention, the Illinois State Federation of Labor stated that Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin had the right to voice his opposition to the war. The Federation had confidence in his integrity and loyalty despite their differences concerning the war.¹⁴ This unusually tolerant view of a dissenting opinion was probably based on Senator LaFollette's reputation as a supporter of the working man.¹⁵ More often both sides used the war views of antagonists to attack each other.

The Sherman-Walker affair was an example of this. Despite John Walker's patriotic service during the war and the well publicized stand of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in support of the war effort, Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman of Illinois impugned his loyalty during debate in the United States Senate on April 9, 1918. Senator Sherman stated that in spite

¹³Louis L. Emerson (ed.), Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1917-1918 (Danville: Illinois Printing Company, 1917), pp. 109-120.

¹⁴Weekly News Letter, November 17, 1917, p. 3.

¹⁵Robert M. LaFollette, LaFollette's Autobiography A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences (Madison, Wisconsin: The Robert M. LaFollette Company, 1913, p. 305.

of the manner in which Walker wrapped himself in patriotism, he was an "arch-disturber of law and order."¹⁶ Senator Sherman and the labor unions had little love for each other. Sherman blamed Walker for the Springfield street-car strike which was still smoldering. The Illinois State Federation of Labor quickly defended Walker, and little damage seemed to be done to Walker's reputation by the attack.¹⁷

John Walker, speaking a month later at a mass meeting at the Springfield Court House, defended himself against Sherman's attack. Walker stated that the strike had been called by the International Union of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees and that he had no power to call it off. He pointed out that he had tried to avoid strikes in Illinois and the surrounding states. Walker went on to say that Senator Sherman was the type of man who would do anything for money and that the Kaiser would probably be willing to pay to have a high government official oppose President Wilson by attacking those who were supporting the war effort. The meeting ended with a resolution denouncing Senator Sherman as "a public blithering ass" who ought to be confined in an institution.¹⁸ The Chicago Herald supported John Walker in his dispute with Senator Sherman.¹⁹ On April 21, 1918, the Chicago Federation of Labor passed a resolution backing Walker against Sherman.²⁰

¹⁶Weekly News Letter, April 13, 1918, p. 1.

¹⁷Ibid., May 4, 1918, p. 2.

¹⁸Ibid., May 11, 1918, pp. 1, 3.

¹⁹Ibid., April 13, 1918, p. 1.

²⁰Ibid., May 4, 1918, pp. 1-2.

Walker's position was strengthened when Governor Frank O. Lowden²¹ appointed him as one of the Illinois delegates to the patriotic convention on "Win the War for Permanent Peace" that was held in Philadelphia on May 16 and 17, 1918.²²

John Walker frequently corresponded with his brother Jim, a miner in Collinsville, Illinois. They discussed family matters and Jim's attempts to win an office in his local union. John also on occasion asked Jim to get an opinion from his fellow miners on some new idea of John's without letting the other miners know why Jim was questioning them. Thus their letters were of a confidential nature. To Jim, John wrote, "I don't think there will be any laws repealed that will protect a working man during this war, unless it becomes an absolute vital necessity for war purposes, and only temporarily, and, as between having to do that and living under Prussian Military Absolutism, I would be willing to agree to almost anything, and that is the question that is being decided for the world in this struggle that is on now, no matter

²¹Frank Orren Lowden was Governor of Illinois during the war. Lowden was born in 1861 in the Minnesota Territory and was raised in Iowa. His father was a farmer and blacksmith. Young Lowden taught school while continuing his education at the State University at Iowa City. He came to Chicago, studied law at the Union College of Law. Lowden was a member and partner in several Chicago law offices before opening his own office in 1893. In 1896 he married Florence Pullman, daughter of George M. Pullman of the Pullman Company. This family connection did not endear him to the labor unions. At his election as Governor in 1916, he was opposed by John Walker and Frank Farrington, President of the Illinois Mine Workers. William T. Hutchinson, Lowden of Illinois The Life of Frank O. Lowden (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), I, 8-48, 345.

However, Walker found that he could work with Lowden and that the Governor was not as hostile to labor once he was in office as he had seemed previously. Walker to Germer, December 19, 1917, Minneapolis, Minnesota, in Walker Papers, Illinois State Historical Survey, Urbana, Illinois.

²²Weekly News Letter, May 11, 1918, p. 2.

what may have started it, or what evil minded men there may be trying to make money out of it on either side now."²³

John Walker's feelings on the war came out in letters between him and Adolph Germer, Secretary of the Socialist Party. (John Walker had been a member of this party, but had left it before the war.) Germer was a long time associate of Walker's and his views on the war were antithetical to those of the President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Walker warned Germer about his opposition to the war and said that he, Walker, would oppose this stand in every way possible. Here again, labor ideology took precedence over everything else. Adolph Germer and many other Socialists were opposed to the war, not by reason of any great love for the German Kaiser, but because they saw it as a capitalistic struggle in which the laboring man lost no matter which side won.²⁴

In another example of patriotic zeal, the Illinois State Federation of Labor reacted favorably in its News Letter to the suppression of The Labor World, a paper published in Decatur, Illinois. The Federation approved of the suppression of the paper because its editor, John H. Ryan, had attacked Americanism and the war. However, since Ryan had also attacked

²³Walker to James Walker, May 18, 1917, Springfield, Illinois, in Walker Papers.

²⁴Walker to Germer, October 29, 1917, Clifton, Arizona, in Walker Papers.

Germer to Walker, October 23, 1917, November 23, 1917, Chicago, Illinois, in Walker Papers.

James Weinstein, The Decline of Socialism in America 1912-1925 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967), p. 165.

At the May 1918 convention of the Illinois Socialists, those in the party who advocated supporting the war in order to defeat Germany were defeated by a close vote of 31 to 27. Nathan Fine, Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States 1828-1928 (New York: Russell and Russell), p. 321.

John Walker, the Federation's approval might not have been quite so patriotic.²⁵

John Walker also mentioned in his letters to Germer that his own feeling for German-born Americans or Americans of German descent was one of tolerance and friendship.²⁶ This feeling of tolerance arose also in an open letter from Walker to all trade unionists of Illinois. There he warned the laborers not to take mob action in the name of patriotism against those accused of being anti-American. This warning had a practical foundation also, for Walker wrote in the letter that the idea of mob action for a good cause could be later used against unionists.²⁷

The Illinois State Federation of Labor supported the war effort vocally and financially and urged its members to do likewise. In June of 1917 the News Letter carried the announcement that the American Federation of Labor was going to invest \$10,000 in Liberty Loan Bonds. The Federation urged individual workers and labor organizations to invest in Liberty Bonds since these bonds were not only patriotic but also a sound investment.²⁸ The sale of the First Liberty Loan Bonds began May 14, 1917. They were payable June 15, 1947, and carried 3½ per cent interest. The Second Liberty Loan drive started October 1, 1917. These bonds were payable November 15,

²⁵Weekly News Letter, February 23, 1918, p. 2.

²⁶Walker to Germer, November 21, 1917, Buffalo, New York, in Walker Papers.

²⁷Weekly News Letter, February 23, 1918, p. 2.

²⁸Ibid., June 9, 1917, p. 1.

1942, but were redeemable after November 15, 1927, and carried 4 per cent interest.²⁹ In December of 1917 there was an article in the News Letter urging the members to go as far as possible in buying War Savings Stamps.³⁰ The War Savings Stamps were to be redeemed for \$5 each in 1923. They cost from \$4.12 to \$4.23, depending on the month in which they were purchased. (This was an interest rate of 4 per cent.) Thrift Stamps sold for 25 cents apiece. Purchasers could exchange sixteen Thrift Stamps plus 12 to 23 cents for one War Savings Stamp. Local post offices and also banks, trust companies and similar places of business sold these stamps.³¹ However, the campaign in the News Letter of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to solicit funds for the war began in earnest in April of 1918 with the Third Liberty Loan. These bonds were on sale after April 6, 1918, and were payable September 15, 1928. They had an interest rate of 4½ per cent.³² An article by John Walker in the April 27, 1918, News Letter urged the trade unionists to support the Americans fighting the war by buying Liberty Bonds.³³ In June the News Letter devoted a full page to President Woodrow Wilson's appeal for everyone to support the war through Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps.³⁴ Questions and answers from a government circular about War Savings

²⁹Marguerite Edith Jenison, The War Time Organization of Illinois, Vol. V of Illinois in the World War, ed. Theodore Calvin Pease (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Historical Library, 1923), pp. 187-189.

³⁰Weekly News Letter, December 29, 1917, p. 3.

³¹Jenison, pp. 209-210.

³²Ibid., 187-189.

³³Weekly News Letter, April 27, 1918, p. 2.

³⁴Ibid., June 8, 1918, p. 4.

Stamps appeared in the News Letter in May of 1918.³⁵ Coupons to be clipped from the News Letter and sent to the local post office requesting War Savings Stamps and/or Thrift Stamps began in July of 1918. These coupons appeared every week from July 13 until the end of the war.³⁶

With the Third Liberty Loan drive, the Illinois State Federation of Labor took an active role in encouraging union members to participate. George W. Perkins, President of the Cigar Makers' International Union, was the chairman of Labor's Liberty Loan League for Cook County. The League had many prominent unionists on its general committee including Victor Olander, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.³⁷ Mass meetings to encourage people to support the Liberty Loan drive were popular. In Belleville, Illinois, on April 7, 1918, a parade of some 12,000 people marched to the public square where the crowd listened to an address by Matthew Woll, President of the Photo Engraver's International Union and a member of the executive committee of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.³⁸ The

³⁵Ibid., May 11, 1918, p. 4.

³⁶Ibid., July 13, 1918, through November 2, 1918.

³⁷Ibid., April 13, 1918, p. 2.

³⁸The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy was promoted by Samuel Gompers as a counter move to Socialist anti-war propaganda. Foster Rhea Dulles, Labor in America (3d ed.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1966), p. 227. The Alliance asked all working men and women to unite in support of President Wilson and the nation in fighting the war for the preservation of democracy. A conference to form and publicize the Alliance was held on September 5, 1917, at Minneapolis, Minnesota. Samuel Gompers was the President of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy and John Walker and Matthew Woll from Illinois were on the executive committee. Weekly News Letter, September 1, 1917, p. 2.
Ibid., September 8, 1917, p. 1.
Ibid., September 15, 1917, p. 7.

News Letter stated that two days later many team captains reported 100 per cent contributions in their mine or shop and that within a few days 95 per cent of the trade unionists would probably have bought at least one bond.³⁹ The News Letter urged unionists to show their Americanism by subscribing to the Third Liberty Loan. In the April 27, 1918, News Letter, the entire fourth page was a large announcement supporting the Third Liberty Loan.⁴⁰

The Fourth Liberty Loan Day was September 28, 1918. The bonds, payable October 15, 1938, and redeemable after October 15, 1933, returned an interest rate of 4½ per cent.⁴¹ "Increase production, economize in consumption, lend your money to the government. Hold your Liberty Bonds and prepare to buy more," was the slogan of the drive.⁴² The News Letter told the workers to contribute. It advised them to set up a weekly budget and include in the budget payments on Fourth Loan Bonds. President Walker, in an open letter to all unionists, urged them to support the fighting men by supplying funds to the government.⁴³ The Illinois Mine Workers announced

Matthew Woll was born in Luxemburg in 1880 and came to the United States when he was eleven. He was educated in the Chicago public schools and studied at the Lake Forest University College of Law. He then learned the photo engraver's trade. From 1906 to 1929, Woll was President of the International Photo Engravers' Union of North America. This information was taken from the dust jacket of Labor, Industry and Government by Matthew Woll. (It did not say why Woll became a photo engraver after attending the university.)

³⁹Weekly News Letter, April 13, 1918, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁰Ibid., April 27, 1918, pp. 1, 4.

⁴¹Jenison, pp. 187-189.

⁴²Weekly News Letter, July 20, 1918, p. 4.

⁴³Ibid., September 14, 1918, pp. 1, 4.
Ibid., September 28, 1918, p. 3.

the investment of \$500,000 in the Fourth Liberty Loan,⁴⁴ and the Illinois State Federation of Labor announced its purchase of a \$1,000 bond.⁴⁵

The Illinois State Federation of Labor also supported the Red Cross through publicity in the Weekly News Letter. On May 18, 1918, a full-page announcement urged unionists to support the second Red Cross War Fund Campaign.⁴⁶ The following week an article advocated giving to the Red Cross because of that organization's aid to the fighting men and to the countries devastated by the war.⁴⁷

At times groups helping the fighting men considered a united fund drive, but the unionists did not support this idea. The Daily News of Chicago proposed a war chest fund plan for that city and asked Victor Olander to give his opinion of this. Olander replied that, though the plan was practical, he thought that it would lessen patriotism and be curtailed in impact since employers would collect the money. He also feared the plan might arouse adverse religious feelings in those who did not want to give to some of the organizations such as the YMCA or the Knights of Columbus. The Trades and Labor Assembly and Building Trades Council of Aurora, Illinois, discussed a similar plan to join all contributions into one community war chest, but decided against it.⁴⁸ However, in the fall of 1918, a joint,

⁴⁴Ibid., September 21, 1918, p. 2.

⁴⁵Ibid., October 26, 1918, p. 2.

⁴⁶Ibid., May 18, 1918, p. 4.

⁴⁷Ibid., May 25, 1918, p. 1.

⁴⁸Ibid., April 20, 1918, p. 1.

national appeal for funds was made by the YMCA, YWCA, National Catholic War Council, Jewish Welfare Board, War Camp Community Service, American Library Association, and the Salvation Army. At the request of C. A. Burton, who was in charge of the campaign in Illinois, President Walker urged all local unions and central bodies associated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor to help in the campaign. He stated that, even though the war was at an end, contributions for the work performed by these organizations were still needed.⁴⁹

Taxes constituted another aspect in the funding of the war. The labor unions urged that "wealth," along with the labor of the workers, be used for war purposes. In Illinois this did not get beyond the talking stage. The October 1917 convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor passed two resolutions on this subject. One simply advocated that the "...wealth of the country be conscripted in order that the cost of the war may be shared equally by capital as well as labor."⁵⁰ The resolution did not give ways of implementing this. The other resolution urged the State Legislature to pass a law taxing all land not in active cultivation and applying this tax to the war expenses of the state.⁵¹ However, by 1919 when the next state legislature met, the war was over.

Raising money was not the only contribution of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to the war effort. The Illinois State Federation of Labor recognized the need for union and labor representation on war policy

⁴⁹Ibid., November 16, 1918, p. 1.

⁵⁰Ibid., November 10, 1917, p. 4.

⁵¹Ibid., October 27, 1917, p. 1.

boards and boards connected with procedures for home front activities when it endorsed "American Labor's Position in Peace or in War." Others also recognized that the need for keeping industry running at top production during the war necessitated the including of labor representatives on the policy-making boards. The Chicago Tribune, on August 13, 1917, editorialized that, despite the service of many labor leaders on the various boards, there still was not the degree of representation in this country as in some European countries. The Illinois State Federation of Labor concurred in this and reprinted the editorial in its News Letter the following week.⁵² By the fall of 1918 the New Republic, believing labor had gained an important voice in the running of the war, commented, "No important measure vitally affecting labor is now taken without consultation with the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, and on the most important government boards the wage earners are represented."⁵³

In Illinois the running of the home front was centered in the State Council of Defense of Illinois. The leaders of the Illinois State Federation of Labor were members of this council. An act of the Illinois General Assembly created the State Council of Defense of Illinois on May 2, 1917. Formed for the duration of the war, the Council's activities stopped after November 11, 1918, but a skeleton staff worked for a few months longer to close out minor details.⁵⁴

⁵²The Chicago Daily Tribune, August 13, 1917, p. 8.
Weekly News Letter, August 18, 1917, p. 2.

⁵³"Labor In 1918," The New Republic, September 7, 1918, p. 157.

⁵⁴Jenison, p. 1.

State of Illinois, Final Report of the State Council of Defense of Illinois 1917--1918--1919, p. 1.

Governor Lowden appointed fifteen members to the State Council of Defense, and they served without pay. The members were allowed their expenses for those costs connected with their Council work, but none ever turned in an expense account.⁵⁵ Governor Lowden appointed Samuel Insull, the utilities tycoon and a resident of Chicago, to the Chairmanship of the Council. B. F. Harris, a banker from Champaign, held the vice chairmanship. John P. Hopkins, a former Chicago mayor and an active Democrat, acted as Secretary until his death on October 13, 1918. Roger C. Sullivan, another Democrat, filled Hopkins' place on the Council. J. Ogden Armour, the Chicago businessman and meat packer, functioned as Treasurer. Other members on the State Council of Defense were from different backgrounds and locations so that a cross section of the state was represented. Dr. Frank Billings and Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, both from Chicago, represented the medical profession and women respectively, John H. Harrison, Danville, and John G. Oglesby, the Republican Lieutenant Governor, served for downstate Illinois. Another Republican on the Council was David E. Shanahan, the Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives. Levy Mayer, a member of the largest Jewish law firm in Chicago, served as counsel for the Council. Lowden appointed three Chicago businessmen, John A. Spoor, Fred W. Upham, and Charles H. Wacker as well as John H. Walker and Victor A. Olander from the Illinois Federation of Labor.⁵⁶

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 8.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. v.

Forrest McDonald, Insull (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 168-169.

Edgar Lee Masters, Levy Mayer and the New Industrial Era (New Haven, 1927), p. 166.

Weekly News Letter, May 5, 1917, p. 4.

The Council contained eleven standing committees with a chairman and two other members for each. The two labor representatives on the Council naturally were involved on those committees which directly affected their field, but they served on other committees as well. John Walker, chairman of the labor committee, also served as a member of the committee on auditing and of the committee for co-ordination of societies. Victor Olander, chairman of the committee on the survey of manpower, also participated in the industrial survey and publicity committees. When the Council added a twelfth committee on war history, both Walker and Olander served on it.⁵⁷

The official duties of the Illinois State Council of Defense were fourfold: to co-operate with the Council of National Defense, to co-operate with the councils of defense of other states, to carry out in Illinois plans agreed upon by state and national councils, and to suggest to the governor and the General Assembly laws for the common defense and public welfare. Its powers were to adopt rules for its own functioning, to form advisory and other committees outside its own membership, to organize subordinate bodies for special investigative help, to appoint the necessary experts, clerks, stenographers, etc., and to make investigations necessary to the work of the Council and to subpoena the witnesses and papers relevant to this.⁵⁸

A working executive department aided each committee of the State Council of Defense in carrying out its duties. The members of each executive department, mainly men recruited from Samuel Insull's companies, formed

⁵⁷Final Report of the State Council of Defense of Illinois, p. 82.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 7-8.

their own staffs. Often these staffs consisted of men who drew their salaries from the various Insull companies while actually working for the Council.

To Insull, the tasks of the State Council of Defense were mobilization of public opinion, raising money, and policing the economy of the state. To involve people on the local level in the work of the Council, Insull relied on the recommendations of the political and the labor members of the Council. They supplied him with lists of local politicians and skilled organizers to recruit as volunteer workers. In this way he reproduced the organization of the central body in nearly every community in the state.⁵⁹ Thus active labor people were involved at all levels in the work of the Council, serving on the Council itself as well as volunteering in their own communities.

To communicate with this vast but effective network of supporters, the council published the weekly State Council News. This served as the "informal but official" means of communication for the organization.⁶⁰

Though the Illinois State Council of Defense had little direct effect on labor, some of the Council's activities did help the working man. The Council was influential in lowering the price of coal for the consumer. Its investigation of the East St. Louis riots helped to clarify what had happened, and the Council was able to plan to avoid such incidents in the future. As a result of co-operation of the Illinois Council with twelve other State Councils of Defense, government contracts, which formerly were

⁵⁹McDonald, pp. 169-172.

⁶⁰State Council News, November 30, 1917, p. 2.

almost entirely awarded to companies in the East, were spread nationally by the beginning of 1918. The Council also forced businesses to comply with federal regulations and acted as a conscience for people at large.⁶¹

Probably the most important result of the union officials' service on the State Council of Defense and other boards and committees was that this service brought them into contact with business and industrial leaders in an atmosphere of mutual co-operation. This co-operation was present despite the fact that unionists and businessmen often had opposing views. Adolph Germer attacked John Walker's war work and accused the industrialists of being friendly to labor only because the nation was at war. Walker did not share this view. He said that the industrialists stated openly that they were representing the employers; and, of course, his position was that of a labor representative.⁶²

The Illinois State Federation of Labor approved the war work of its officers and members. The enemies of Victor Olander made an attempt, however, to use his service on the State Council of Defense against him. At the time of the 1918 election of officers for the Federation, the enemies of Olander spread rumors that he should be defeated since he was not only serving in a paid position for the Federation but also was receiving pay as a member of the State Council of Defense. These accusations were untrue since no member of the Council received any pay, and Olander was using his free time to fulfill

⁶¹McDonald, pp. 173-176.

⁶²Germer to Walker, November 14, 1917, Chicago, Illinois, in Walker Papers.

Walker to Germer, November 13, 1917, November 21, 1917, Buffalo, New York, December 29, 1917, Springfield, Illinois, in Walker Papers.

his duties for the Council.⁶³ This smear campaign did not affect the outcome of the election.

The October 1917 convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor approved the work of John Walker and Victor Olander on the State Council of Defense of Illinois and with the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. The convention also approved the work of those unionists who were members of the District Exemption Boards.⁶⁴ As further proof of acclaim for Walker's war work, some delegates to the convention wanted to vote to allow him to either keep both his salary as a member of the President's Mediation Commission and his pay as an officer of the Federation or keep that from the Mediation Commission since it was higher than his union salary. However, Walker insisted that he would draw his usual pay from the Illinois State Federation of Labor and would turn over to the Federation the pay he received for his commission work.⁶⁵

In addition to the State Council of Defense, trade unionists from Illinois served on other boards and commissions. The President's Mediation Commission, created on September 19, 1917, counted John Walker of Illinois as one of its five members. Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson was the

⁶³Weekly News Letter, January 19, 1918, p. 2.

⁶⁴Ibid., October 20, 1917, p. 4.

⁶⁵Ibid., November 17, 1917, p. 4.

At the October 1917 convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, the salaries of the President and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation were raised from \$200 to \$240 a month.

Ibid., October 27, 1917, p. 2. After receiving this raise, Walker instructed his father to increase his assessment to the United Mine Workers from \$2.00 to \$2.40 a month. John Walker to William Walker, January 3, 1918, Springfield, Illinois, in Walker Papers.

Chairman and Felix Frankfurter was the Secretary of the Commission. The other members were Colonel J. L. Spangler of Pennsylvania, Verner Z. Reed of Colorado, and G. P. March of Washington. The Commission helped the state governors to solve labor difficulties and to establish better relations between employers and workers.⁶⁶ Though Secretary of Labor Wilson was the nominal head of the Commission, Frankfurter provided motivation and direction for the Commission.⁶⁷

In February of 1918, when the National War Labor Conference Board was created President Wilson appointed Victor Olander as one of the five representatives of labor on it. The other labor representatives were Frank J. Hayes, President of the United Mine Workers; W. L. Hutcheson, President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; J. A. Franklin, President of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders; and T. A. Rickert, President of the United Garment Workers. The five representatives of employers were L. A. Osborne, Vice President of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company; Charles F. Brooks, President of the American Brass Company; W. H. VanDervoort, President of the Root & VanDervoort Engineering Company of East Moline, Illinois; L. F. Lores, President of the Delaware & Hudson Company and Chairman of the executive committee of the Kansas City Southern Railroad; and C. Edwin Michael, President of the Virginia Bridge & Iron Company.⁶⁸ Each group chose a co-chairman for the Board. The labor

⁶⁶Jenison, pp. 280-281.

⁶⁷Frederic L. Paxson, American Democracy and the World War, Vol. II: America At War 1917-1918 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939), p. 261.

⁶⁸Weekly News Letter, February 23, 1918, p. 1.

representatives chose Frank P. Walsh, a labor lawyer from Kansas City. The employers' choice was former President William Howard Taft. During the month of March the Board discussed ways of preserving labor peace in the United States during the war. As a result, it recommended forming the National War Labor Board. The President announced the members of this Board on April 8, 1918, and they were the same as the members of the National War Labor Conference Board. The two co-chairmen, Walsh and Taft, presided alternately over the procedures of the Board which functioned as a supreme court for labor controversy.⁶⁹ The National War Labor Board had jurisdiction over all fields of production needed for the war except those already under an adjustment commission. It was "the governmental agency that left the heaviest imprint upon the nation's labor relations."⁷⁰

The Illinois State Federation of Labor sent John Fitzpatrick to represent the Federation at a conference to discuss the distribution of labor. The United States Employment Service called the conference that was held in Washington on July 19, 1918.⁷¹ When the convention "Win the War for Permanent Peace" met May 16 and 17, 1918, in Philadelphia, Governor Lowden appointed John Walker to serve as one of the delegates from Illinois.⁷²

Trade unionists were also active with war related work at the state level. When the State Council of Defense appointed an Advisory Educational

⁶⁹Paxson, p. 262.

⁷⁰Joseph G. Rayback, A History of American Labor (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1963), p. 274.

⁷¹Weekly News Letter, July 13, 1918, p. 1.

⁷²Ibid., May 4, 1918, p. 1.

Committee, unionists were well represented. The Committee supervised the war activities in Illinois schools and had charge of the boys' working reserve. Francis G. Blair, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Illinois, chaired the Committee. Among the committee members were Charles Stillman, President of the American Federation of Teachers; Robert C. Moore, Secretary of the Illinois State Teachers' Association; Mrs. Ida Fursman of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, and Mrs. L. J. Trowbridge, President of the Women High School Teachers' Federation.⁷³

Organized labor also had an important place on the draft exemption boards for Illinois. There was a District Exemption Board for each of the eight Federal Judicial Districts. President Wilson appointed a labor member to each board in July of 1917. There were five members on each District Exemption Board, and the other members were a lawyer, a physician, a person connected with agriculture, and a person connected with industry. The labor members on the eight boards were Victor A. Olander, John H. Walker, John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor; George W. Perkins, President of the Cigar Makers' International Union; John C. Harding of Typographical Union No. 16; Charles Ford, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Frank Farrington, President of the Illinois Mine Workers; and Al Towers, Secretary of the Molder's Conference Board.⁷⁴

⁷³Ibid., January 12, 1918, p. 2.
Jenison, pp. 11, 44.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 97.

Weekly News Letter, July 28, 1917, p. 1.

John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, was a prominent labor leader of this time. Born in Ireland in 1871 and orphaned by the age of ten, Fitzpatrick came to Chicago in 1882 to live with an uncle.

Thus organized labor supported the war and supplied the leadership to serve as representatives of labor on state and national committees. By providing people who had demonstrated their abilities through union leadership, the unions made it possible for the working man to have representation in the running of the war. Without labor organizations it would have been impossible to discover the working men and women with the ability and experience to effectively represent their fellow workers on these important committees.

He went to work at an early age and eventually became a blacksmith and horse-shoer. Fitzpatrick was a member of Local No. 4 of the International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers of the United States and Canada and of the Blacksmiths Drop Forgers, and Helpers Unions. He served as business agent, treasurer, and president of the Horseshoers' Union. In 1895 John Fitzpatrick helped to organize the Chicago Federation of Labor. He was president of this organization from 1899 to 1901 and from 1905 until his death in 1946 (with the exception of the year 1908).

John Howard Keiser, "John Fitzpatrick and Progressive Unionism 1915-1925" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1965) pp. 2, 73-74.

CHAPTER II

WARTIME PROBLEMS

There were problems in Illinois during World War I that were closely connected with labor and the war. However, co-operation between labor, the government, and employers kept these problems from becoming catastrophic. The availability of manpower was a prime wartime problem. Threatened strikes in the coal mines and stockyards caused concern for fuel and food supplies. The East St. Louis riots in the summer of 1917 caused great destruction and anxiety about domestic tranquillity. Finally, the Illinois State Federation of Labor had to face the problem of the return to a peacetime economy.

During the war a big problem was the need for manpower. The army needed soldiers and at the same time it was essential that the farm and industrial production of Illinois remain high so that enough food and materiel could be produced. Organized labor was afraid that under the banners of patriotism and wartime necessity many of the gains already won by the workers would be lost. There was also the fear that labor shortages could lead to the importation of low-cost Asian labor to the detriment of American workers.

For implementing the Selective Service in Illinois, the state had eight districts, each with a District Exemption Board. Under these District Exemption Boards were 227 Local Exemption Boards. President Wilson appointed the members of these boards. He requested Governor Lowden to recommend members, and he confirmed them on June 27, 1917.¹

¹Jenison, pp. 4-5.

The draft boards treated labor very fairly. (The presence of a representative of organized labor on each of the District Exemption Boards was noted in Chapter I.) Almost every accusation of an unfair decision by the Exemption Boards involved farm labor. Some critics complained that the Boards, rather than fight the unions for industrial workers, simply filled their quotas with a disproportionately large amount of farm boys.²

A potentially dangerous situation for organized labor did occur on May 23, 1918. On this date the Provost Marshal General issued an order regarding the exemption from the draft of young men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one who had been excused because of employment in an essential industry. Some people interpreted this order to mean that all men had to take jobs no matter what the pay or whether or not the work was essential to the war. The Illinois State Federation of Labor immediately protested this interpretation. Secretary of War Baker issued a statement on June 1, 1918, that denied use of the draft as a means of regulating labor. He also stated that "...non-employment by reason of strikes will not be regarded as such non-employment as will cancel either exemption or deferred classification."³ The State Council of Defense reported in its State Council News that the "Work or Fight" order of May 23 did not apply to anyone who was not between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one or to anyone between those ages who was unemployed because of a strike.⁴ The provisions about strikes were necessary to prohibit employers from using the draft as a strikebreaking device.

²Hutchinson, pp. 350-351, 368.

³Weekly News Letter, June 8, 1918, pp. 1-2.

⁴State Council News, June 28, 1918, p. 3.

Another draft-related complaint concerned only men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one. The unions reported that some employers were dismissing men who had been called up for the draft even though these men might have several months to wait before going into the service. The State Council of Defense, at the urgings of John Walker and Victor Olander, publicized this unfair situation. The Chicago Tribune called upon the Association of Commerce and other groups of employers to take action to stop this procedure. The State Federation of Labor also complained that some employers were refusing to hire men of draft age even if they had not yet been called.⁵

In the Illinois State Senate in June of 1917, Senator Henry M. Dunlap of Savoy proposed a solution to the potential labor shortage. The bill, Senate Bill No. 599, made it a misdemeanor for an able-bodied male resident not to work at least thirty-six hours a week. The bill contained no provisions for unusual circumstances. Offenders could be put into public work for sixty days. The Illinois State Federation of Labor spoke out against this bill since it made strikes illegal and its provision for public work was a form of slave labor. Also the vast provisions of the bill made it unadaptable to emergency situations, such as that of a man who wished to attend the funeral of a relative in another part of the state. If the funeral were fairly distant from his home, he would not be able to attend and still work thirty-six hours that week. Thus he would be breaking the law even though he was not deliberately avoiding working. When a representative of the

⁵Weekly News Letter, September 8, 1917, p. 3.
The Chicago Daily Tribune, August 29, 1917, p. 8.

Illinois State Federation of Labor asked Senator Dunlap if he planned to take a vacation this year and thus break the law himself, the Senator replied that he might vacation outside of Illinois.⁶ The bill passed in the Senate but met defeat in the House. The Illinois State Federation of Labor wholeheartedly agreed with this defeat.⁷

The shortage of industrial labor in Illinois during the war did not ever become serious, and there was doubt if there really was a shortage. In February of 1918, Barney Cohen, Director of the Illinois Department of Labor, stated that there was not at that time a labor shortage in Illinois.⁸ Manufacturers complained of a shortage of labor and talked of the need to import Chinese coolie labor. The Illinois State Federation of Labor disagreed completely with this. The Federation blamed the shortages that existed on employment practices. A letter and an affidavit from Victor Olander to Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, told of the case of a man named Louis Cejka. The Miehle Printing Press Company fired Cejka because he was a member of the Machinists' Union. Yet at this same time the company, which had a government contract for Navy work, had complained of the shortage of skilled labor.⁹ The Illinois State Federation of Labor also reported that

⁶Weekly News Letter, June 9, 1917, p. 1.

⁷Ibid., June 23, 1917, p. 2.

⁸Ibid., February 16, 1918, p. 3.

Barney Cohen was appointed by Governor Lowden to be the Director of the Department of Labor. He also was the President of the Association of Government Labor Officials of the U. S. and Canada. Cohen was a long time union man. He had been President of the Cigar Makers' Union of Chicago and President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. As a state factory inspector, Cohen had lobbied at Springfield for bills desired by union labor. Thus he was sympathetic to the views of organized labor. Hutchinson, p. 306.

⁹Weekly News Letter, January 26, 1918, p. 1.

companies refused to hire men over forty or forty-five. This practice denied employment to older men who were still able to work and at the same time created a shortage of labor.¹⁰

Another complaint of the Federation during the war was that employers had used the practice of shifting workers from nonessential industries to essential ones to hold down wages and get the employees to work long hours. The Illinois State Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the Chicago Federation of Labor, brought proposals to end this problem before the District Superintendent of the Labor Department, the State Council of Defense and the Chicago City Council. However, the Federation received no response. In October of 1918, John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, wrote to Secretary of Labor Wilson asking for his help. Fitzpatrick suggested that both the government's and labor's interests could be fairly served if the provision were made "That any employer who refuses to subscribe to and comply with the principles laid down by the National War Labor Board and the spirit of the President's proclamation sustaining same, shall not be entitled to any co-operation through the Employment Service of the Department."¹¹ The principles of the National War Labor Board, which included recognition of the right of labor to organize and to receive a living wage, were generally favorable to organized labor and the workers.¹² Before Secretary Wilson had time to respond to this suggestion, the war ended.

Another problem in Illinois during World War I was coal. There were high coal prices during the summer of 1917, a strike in October, a shortage

¹⁰Ibid., February 16, 1918, p. 3.

¹¹Ibid., October 26, 1918, p. 2.

¹²Ibid., May 18, 1918, p. 1.

of coal during the winter, and indications that there would be another shortage in the winter of 1918-1919. The need for coal was great at this particular period both for heating houses and businesses and for providing power for the manufacturing plants which were trying to operate at full capacity to fill the needs of the wartime economy.

During the summer of 1917 coal prices were high. Because of this, consumers were not stocking up on coal for the coming winter. Several meetings between the Illinois State Council of Defense and representatives of the mine operators and of the United Mine Workers of America failed to achieve a reduction. The companies charged that the public outcry for lower coal prices was by Chicago manufacturers eager for higher profits and by the government which was eager to increase its popularity by obtaining a lower price. The operators did agree with the state government on the appointment of a Director of Coal for Illinois. However, on August 10, 1917, the United States passed the Lever Act. With its passage, which the Illinois State Federation of Labor supported, the United States government assumed the responsibility for the pricing of coal.¹³ The Lever Act or the Food and Fuel Control Act authorized the United States Fuel Administration to determine the price of coal at the mine. Dr. Harry A. Garfield was the United States Fuel Administrator. A committee in each state directed the apportionment of the coal supply and the retail sales in that state. In Illinois John E. Williams served as Federal Fuel Administrator until August 15, 1918. After that date Raymond E. Durham became Administrator. There were eleven members

¹³Ibid., June 23, 1917, p. 1.
Hutchinson, p. 335.

Final Report of the State Council of Defense of Illinois, pp. 43-47.

of the State Advisory Board to the Federal Fuel Administrator for Illinois. Two of these members were Matthew Woll, President of the Photo Engravers' International Union, and John Walker. The Federal Fuel Administrator for the State appointed a local fuel committee for each county and for each city with over 2,500 people. The local fuel committee determined the retail price of coal in the community.¹⁴

On August 16 and 17, 1917, Governor Lowden of Illinois held a meeting for representatives of thirteen Mississippi Valley states to discuss the coal situation. The conference met in Chicago. Representatives of Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, and Wisconsin were present.¹⁵ The representatives called for lowering the price of coal and deemed the current price "unreasonably excessive." They talked of ways to relieve the railroads, who were having trouble delivering the coal, and discussed the possibility of getting more coal carrying ships on the Great Lakes.¹⁶

On August 21, 1917, President Wilson set the price for bituminous coal at the mine. The difference between the fixed price and the previous price varied from \$1.10 to \$1.80 a ton, depending upon the type of coal.¹⁷ Much of this reduction reached down to the retail buyer.¹⁸

¹⁴Jenison, pp. 261-262, 266.

¹⁵Final Report of the State Council of Defense of Illinois, p. 47.

¹⁶Hutchinson, p. 336.

¹⁷Final Report of the State Council of Defense of Illinois, p. 49.

¹⁸Hutchinson, p. 337.

On October 16, 1917, twelve thousand Illinois miners went on strike for an increase in wages. On October 5 the operators had promised the miners an increase if the price of coal was raised. However, when the price remained the same and the miners did not receive an increase, they called a strike. The Fuel Administrator and officials of the United Mine Workers persuaded the miners to return to work the following day. On October 26, 1917, the President approved an increase in the price of coal of 35 cents a ton so the miners could get their raise.¹⁹ In a front-page cartoon on October 19, the Chicago Tribune showed Uncle Sam getting tough with the striking miners to get them back to work. However, the same paper stated in an editorial that "We believe enlightened labor leaders are willing to cooperate with the government to prevent strikes, provided they are given assurance against exploitation."²⁰

The October 1917 convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor voted to send to the Executive Board of the Federation instructions to draft a bill putting the production and distribution of coal under the control of the State of Illinois.²¹ However, nothing ever came of this. The war was over before the next legislative session.

In January of 1918 severe weather aggravated the coal shortage. United States Fuel Administrator Garfield closed all manufacturing plants east of the Mississippi from January 17 to January 22 in order to save fuel. He also ordered the plants to close every Monday from January 28 through

¹⁹Jenison, pp. 262-263.

²⁰The Chicago Daily Tribune, October 19, 1917, pp. 1, 8.

²¹Weekly News Letter, November 10, 1917, p. 4.

March 25. John Williams, the Fuel Administrator for Illinois, authorized local chairmen to confiscate coal from nonessential industries if necessary. On January 22, Williams instructed retail coal dealers to require buyers of coal for domestic use to sign a statement as to the amount of coal they already had.²²

The different factions involved blamed each other for the shortage. The Illinois State Federation of Labor termed unpatriotic the Illinois Manufacturers' Association's efforts to evade the orders of the fuel administrator to close on Mondays.²³ The Chicago Tribune blamed the shortage on the lack of co-operation and planning during the summer. The Tribune was making a case for its pet project of the need for a superior war council to avoid such problems by proper planning.²⁴ However, most of the blame for the shortage of coal fell on the shortage of railroad cars. The State Council News said that during the past year 134 more days could have been worked at the coal mines if there had been cars to haul off the coal.²⁵ As early as August of 1917, the editor of a coal journal stated that the basic problem was lack of cars. The coal cars were not returned promptly to the mines and this hampered the distribution of coal. The coal journal usually represented the views of the operators.²⁶

²²Jenison, p. 263.

²³Weekly News Letter, February 9, 1918, p. 1.

²⁴The Chicago Daily Tribune, January 19, 1918, p. 6.
Ibid., February 1, 1918, p. 8.

²⁵State Council News, March 8, 1918, p. 3.

²⁶Masters, p. 177. The coal journal was not identified.

The mine workers also complained about the coal car problem. In a letter to the Illinois State Federation of Labor, the Collinsville, Illinois, Local No. 264, United Mine Workers of America, protested that press reports were putting the blame for the coal shortage on the miners. The letter said that the lack of railroad cars caused the shortage. From November 1, 1916, to November 1, 1917, the miners lost seventy-one working days because there were not enough cars. In many parts of the state miners did not put in a full day's work because they filled all the available cars and had no place to put any more coal.²⁷

As the summer of 1918 approached, officials voiced concern about the next year's need for coal. In April of 1918 the Fuel Administrator for Illinois advised both dealers and consumers to order a full year's supply of coal immediately. He instructed the dealers to unload all coal cars within twenty-four hours and to send the required monthly reports to him. In addition the dealers were reminded to "...conform to the request of local fuel committees in accepting orders of consumers, sell at approved prices, and be prepared to show price of coal f.o.b. at his yards."²⁸ On May 29, 1918, Frank Farrington, President of the Illinois Mine Workers, met with Governor Lowden to discuss the coal problem. One item of discussion was that many large consumers were neglecting to store coal for the coming year. As a result of this, half of the state's ninety thousand coal miners were idle. However, by October 1, 1918, the situation had improved considerably and 90 per cent of the annual requirements for coal in Illinois had been met.²⁹

²⁷Weekly News Letter, August 17, 1918, p. 6.

²⁸Jenison, pp. 263-264.

²⁹Ibid., p. 264.

Frank Farrington was greatly responsible for keeping the production of coal in Illinois going as well as it did. In a letter to the Illinois members of the United Mine Workers, Farrington stressed the importance of the miners' work. He reminded them that it was "right and reasonable" that they co-operate to produce as much coal as possible.³⁰ Newton Baker, Secretary of War, praised Farrington and said that the President of the United Mine Workers of Illinois was helping to end the war as quickly as possible.³¹ In July of 1917, the Chicago Tribune stated that there was no doubt as to Farrington's patriotism.³² The State Council of Defense of Illinois wrote in its Final Report that "In trying to maintain and to speed up coal production, the Council had valuable co-operation from Mr. Frank Farrington of Springfield, President of the United Mine Workers in the Illinois District."³³

Another wartime labor problem concerned the stockyards workers. The Chicago packers were a vital part of the nation's network of packing houses, and the situation was one of importance in Illinois. The packing industry had resisted union organization. In 1903 a strike attempt failed and the unions were unsuccessful in organizing the stockyards workers for a number of years. In the summer of 1917 Dennis Lane, Vice President of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, described the packers' efforts to resist organized labor. "The packers have resorted to many inhuman and un-American tactics to keep down organization among their

³⁰Weekly News Letter, July 28, 1917, pp. 3-4.

³¹Ibid., August 31, 1918, p. 2.

³²The Chicago Daily Tribune, July 27, 1917, p. 6.

³³Final Report of the State Council of Defense of Illinois, p. 51.

employees, something that would help to regulate wages and working conditions for the men and women employed in the industry. Using the spy system very extensively."³⁴ [sic] In 1917 the Stockyards Labor Council organized in Chicago with John Fitzpatrick as Chairman. The Council was an industry-wide union, not limited to members of a certain craft. By the end of October of 1917, the Council had organized about 50 per cent of the stockyards' labor force. However, the packers refused to meet with the union. This denial along with dissatisfaction over wages and hours brought the threat of a strike.³⁵ Such a situation was serious for a strike would have a disastrous effect on the country's food supply. On Christmas morning of 1917, President Wilson's Mediation Commission succeeded in forming an agreement between the parties involved. John Walker was a member of the President's Mediation Commission.

The agreement was between workers at the stockyards in Chicago, Kansas City, Sioux City, Iowa; St. Joseph, Missouri; East St. Louis, Denver, Oklahoma City, St. Paul, Minnesota; Omaha, Nebraska; and Ft. Worth, Texas, and the companies of Armour and Company, Cudahy Packing Company, Morris and Company, Swift and Company, and Wilson and Company. The agreement specified that there were to be no strikes during the war and that the President's Mediation Commission would see that the letter and the spirit of the agreement were enforced. John E. Williams was the United States Administrator under the agreement. All grievances first went to the foreman involved,

³⁴Dennis Lane to Walker, July 10, 1917, Chicago, Illinois, in Walker Papers.

³⁵Weekly News Letter, March 2, 1918, p. 3.
Keiser, "John Fitzpatrick," pp. 36, 38-40.

then if not settled were taken up the line of management of the company. If not settled by the management then they were taken to the United States Administrator.³⁶

The Illinois State Federation of Labor approved the selection of John Williams as the United States Administrator for the Stockyards Agreement. Williams, of Streator, Illinois, had been the official arbitrator of the Illinois Mine Workers for many years. He also served as the Fuel Administrator for Illinois. When writing about his appointment as United States Administrator for the Stockyards Agreement, the News Letter said, "Mr. Williams has had a remarkable career in the mediation field and has gained the good will of workers and employers alike in every case in which he has acted."³⁷

In January of 1918, a union committee led by John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, went to Washington to complain that the packers were not living up to the Christmas Day agreement.³⁸ However, by February, twelve of the eighteen union demands had been agreed to by the packers. These twelve were: grievances would be settled as outlined in the Christmas agreement, no employees would be dismissed without cause, no employees would be dismissed for union membership, employees could be absent for union duties just as they could for fraternal organization duties, there was to be no discrimination because of race, color, or creed, the principle of seniority prevailed for all below the grade of foreman, there

³⁶Weekly News Letter, December 29, 1917, pp. 1-2.

³⁷Ibid., p. 1.

³⁸Ibid., January 19, 1918, p. 1.

would be no discrimination in hiring because of union membership, thirty days of continuous employment would constitute proof of competence, piece-work rates would be constantly displayed, employees would not be required to join the companies' sick and death benefit associations, the companies would furnish dressing rooms, washrooms, and lunch rooms, and copies of the agreement between the unions and the packing companies would be posted in all places of work.³⁹

Shortly after being named Administrator, John Williams announced that the job was too much for his health. A new Administrator was appointed and his first task was to hear testimony on the six disputed points. Secretary of Labor William Wilson, who was the Chairman of the President's Mediation Commission, named Judge Samuel Alschuler of the United States Circuit, Northern Division of Illinois, to be the new United States Administrator. The News Letter did not comment either favorably or unfavorably on the appointment of Judge Alschuler. It simply noted the change of Administrators in a news article.⁴⁰

On February 11, 1918, the new Administrator opened hearings in Chicago on the stockyards dispute. Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City, a labor lawyer who was later appointed one of the co-chairmen of the National War Labor Board, was the advisor for the unions. He served without pay. John Fitzpatrick, Victor Olander, and Samuel Gompers all testified at the hearing on behalf of the workers. On the fifth day of the hearing, Judge Alschuler

³⁹Ibid., February 2, 1918, p. 3.

⁴⁰Ibid., February 9, 1918, p. 1.

made a personal inspection of the stockyards.⁴¹ As the hearing began, the Chicago Tribune said that the inquiry would disclose conditions that ought not to exist. The editorial further stated that enormous fortunes had been made in the packing industry and that the men working for it should have a living wage.⁴² John Kilkuski, an organizer for the American Federation of Labor, summed up much of the depressing testimony about living conditions for the stockyards workers when he stated that "The workers don't live; they just exist."⁴³ Other witnesses included the Rev. Louis Grudzinski, pastor of the St. John of God's Polish Catholic Church, and Mrs. Rosie Bobek, widow of a stockyards worker. They testified to the low wages of the workers. The wages were so low and so erratic that many of the workers could not even buy clothing or medicine for their children. Often the wives had to work to help support the family.⁴⁴

When the Arbitrator announced his decision in early April of 1918, the stockyards workers received almost everything they had requested. The News Letter headlined the announcement "Victory for Stockyards Workers." Judge Alschuler granted that: Beginning May 5, 1918, the eight-hour day was the standard; overtime was double for Sundays and holidays, time and one-fourth for the first two hours over eight with time and a half for over ten hours (the workers had wanted time and a half for all hours over eight); in

⁴¹Paxson, p. 262.

Weekly News Letter, February 16, 1918, p. 1.

Ibid., February 23, 1918, p. 1.

Ibid., March 2, 1918, p. 1.

⁴²The Chicago Daily Tribune, February 15, 1918, p. 6.

⁴³Weekly News Letter, February 16, 1917, p. 1.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 1.

plants with three daily eight-hour shifts the workers had twenty minutes with pay for lunch; an increase in wages of about 10 per cent was given with an adjustment for a day's wage when the day changed from ten hours to eight (the workers had asked for a raise of a dollar a day); wages were the same for men and women doing the same work; and there was no change in the guaranteed time as of November 30, 1917, except in the case of Swift and Company whose guaranteed time was put at forty hours to match that of all the other packers.⁴⁵

In June of 1918, Judge Alschuler announced additional decisions resolving disputes between the packers and the workers. Again the Federation was happy with the decisions reached by the United States Administrator. Judge Alschuler ruled that: When two shifts of twelve hours changed to three shifts of eight hours, the workers would receive 50 per cent more pay per hour for the eight-hour day than they did for the twelve-hour one; in the dispute between the John F. Jelke Company and its employees, the raise of one dollar a week which was given on April 3 was deducted from the increase in wages so that the company's wages matched those of the other packing houses; and the workday of each employee should begin as closely as possible at the same time each day, notice must be given on the previous day of any change in starting time and for workdays beginning about seven, overtime had to be paid after five-thirty whether a full eight hours had been worked or not.⁴⁶

Another problem in Illinois at this time was race relations. On July 2, 1917, a bloody riot in East St. Louis left a number of people dead or injured and many buildings destroyed. The riot was connected with labor

⁴⁵Ibid., April 6, 1918, p. 2.

⁴⁶Ibid., June 8, 1918, pp. 2-3.

problems. The Weekly News Letter of the Illinois State Federation of Labor gave its account of the upheaval. In the past two years some eight thousand negroes had moved into East St. Louis. On April 18, 1917, workers at the Aluminum Ore Company went on strike. Negroes were hired by the company as strikebreakers. Negroes were often hired over whites since the colored men would work for lower wages and their work as strikebreakers incited hostile feelings in the white working men. On May 28, a mob went to the mayor of East St. Louis to demand that the influx of negroes into the city be stopped. After listening to several inflammatory speeches, the mob attacked several negroes. The state militia came in and maintained order for awhile. A tense calm prevailed between the time of this incident and the first of July. On July 1, 1917, two cars of white men shot up a negro neighborhood. As a result, negroes massed and shot an unmarked police car, killing two policemen. In retaliation a large white mob formed at noon on July 2 and fighting broke out between negroes and whites. As a result nearly one hundred people were killed and two hundred and forty-five buildings were burned. During all of this the police and militia did nothing to try to stop the violence.⁴⁷

After the May disorders, the Committee on Labor of the Illinois State Council of Defense began its investigation of the situation in East St. Louis. John Walker was Chairman of the Committee; John H. Harrison and Dr. Frank Billings were members. They reported to the Council of Defense on June 29, 1917. The Committee blamed unknown agents for the large increase of negroes

⁴⁷Ibid., June 2, 1917, p. 2.

Ibid., August 18, 1917, pp. 3-4.

moving into the city. These agents had induced negroes to move from the South to East St. Louis in order to provide a pool of cheap labor and thus restrict the unions in the area. The Committee concluded that the Council should publicize the East St. Louis situation and stress the dangers of it. Migration should follow a natural pattern throughout the country. The various state councils of defense should handle any labor shifts that were necessary.⁴⁸

Elliott M. Rudwick, in his book Race Riot at East St. Louis July 2, 1917, finds several flaws in organized labor's view of the riots. He puts the number of dead at nine whites and thirty-nine negroes.⁴⁹ Rudwick also uses school figures and draft records to estimate the number of 1916-1917 negro migrants to East St. Louis to be about five thousand.⁵⁰ Both figures are lower than those reported in the News Letter of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Rudwick also points out that while some of the strike-breakers at the Aluminum Ore Company were negroes, there were white strike-breakers too. Public opinion was such that only the negroes were remembered as strikebreakers. The News Letter's accounts of the riots did not mention two points that Rudwick brings out. One was that the meeting which was held on May 28 to protest the influx of negroes into the city was organized by

⁴⁸Ibid., July 7, 1917, pp. 1, 3.
McDonald, P. 175.
Jenison, pp. 284-285.

⁴⁹Elliott M. Rudwick, Race Riot at East St. Louis July 2, 1917
(Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964) p. 217.

⁵⁰Ibid., P. 166.

the East St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union. The other was that John Walker attended and participated at this meeting.⁵¹

Rudwick also found fault with the report of the Labor Committee of the State Council of Defense of Illinois, which gave its report on the May 28 disorders before the July 2 riot occurred. He stated that "The Walker group condemned employers but made no attempt to discover the identity of the rioters or recommend the prosecution of mob members. These actions, in seeming to condone the riot, hardly discouraged those who took the law into their own hands."⁵²

Labor's responsibility for the riots seems to be one of omission and not of commission. Rudwick says that although most of the whites who attacked negroes were blue-collar workers, many were not union men. Also there was no evidence that union leaders had planned or caused the July riot. Labor organizations had sponsored the meeting on May 28, however; and when other speakers preached violence the labor leaders did not speak up and call for peace.⁵³

The problems which confronted the Illinois State Federation of Labor during the war gradually diminished, and soon only the problem of peace remained. Even before the United States entered the war, the Federation was considering difficulties that would be brought by the end of the war in Europe. As early as 1915, the Federation was concerned that the end of the war would revive immigration of cheap labor to the United States. Thus it

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 7-29, 35.

⁵²Ibid., p. 35.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 142-143.

urged that the coming Congress enact legislation to restrict immigration.⁵⁴ In 1916 the Federation noted that the end of hostilities would necessitate many revisions in textbooks to keep them up to date. The Illinois State Federation of Labor stated that an effort should be made to insure that the reprinting of the books be done under union conditions.⁵⁵

As it became evident in the fall of 1918 that the war would soon be ending, the Illinois State Federation of Labor considered the problems that would affect labor as the country changed from war to peace. John Walker saw the greatest problem to be one of manpower. Five or six million men and women formerly employed either in military service or war work or war industries would be looking for employment. Walker said that the country could manage this over-supply of labor to the benefit of everyone or the abundant labor supply could facilitate the repression of the working man. He believed that it was necessary to organize and educate all workers so that they could recognize the problems involved and handle them intelligently.⁵⁶ Walker wrote to his brother Jim that "...at its end, [World War I] we will have the strongest and most intelligent organization of working people that it is possible to make at that time also, and that will put us in the best position possible for the future."⁵⁷ As the time for the annual

⁵⁴Weekly News Letter, December 18, 1915, p. 1.

⁵⁵Ibid., April 1, 1916, p. 1.

⁵⁶Ibid., November 30, 1918, p. 1.

⁵⁷Walker to James Walker, July 22, 1918, Springfield, Illinois in Walker Papers.

fall convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor approached, Walker said that a topic of vital importance for the convention would be the change from war to peace.⁵⁸

The 1918 convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor convened shortly after the end of the war. At this convention, the Federation decided that the state should form a special commission to help ease the labor situation. This commission would be composed of five representatives of employers and five representatives of labor, plus a chairman and a secretary appointed by the federal Department of Labor. All labor disputes arising during the reorganization period would be under the jurisdiction of this commission. However, the Federation reserved one principle as being unchangeable, "...the right to organize workers into trade unions and the privilege and rights now enjoyed by such organizations shall not be matters for arbitration or other adjustment but shall remain sacred to the workers."⁵⁹ (This commission idea was not accomplished.)

Thus the Illinois State Federation of Labor finished its concern with World War I.

⁵⁸Ibid., November 9, 1918, p. 1.

⁵⁹Ibid., December 14, 1918, pp. 3-4.

CHAPTER III

NORMAL ACTIVITIES

Labor's support of the war effort did not cause the Illinois State Federation of Labor to suspend its normal activities. Its officers undertook their wartime jobs in addition to their regular tasks. The Federation continued work on its long term projects and added other non-war concerns to its agenda. Although the war had an effect on the activities of the Federation from April of 1917 to November of 1918, most of the concern of the Illinois State Federation of Labor during this period was with matters that were not directly connected with the war. In his 1917 Labor Day statement, John H. Walker listed the three main concerns of labor as being the trade union movement, the co-operative movement, and the political organization of the workers. The greatest problem in Illinois, according to Walker, was the misuse of the injunction against organized labor.¹

The Illinois State Federation of Labor held only one convention during the war. This was the thirty-fifth annual convention which met in Joliet, Illinois, from October 15 through October 20, 1917.² Because of an influenza epidemic, the officers of the Federation postponed the thirty-sixth convention, which was scheduled to begin in Bloomington on October 21, 1918. It did not meet until the second of December.³

¹Weekly News Letter, September 8, 1917, p. 1.

²Ibid., October 27, 1917, p. 1.

³Ibid., October 19, 1918, p. 1.

Ibid., November 9, 1918, p. 1.

The annual convention considered the issues that were important to the Illinois State Federation of Labor. The Report of the Committee on Officers' Reports, approved by the 1917 convention, outlined the interests of the Federation at that time. Though the report mentioned that the problems of war and ultimate peace added to the problems of labor, only one of the seventeen points listed in the report concerned the war. The points were:

1. With the modern development of industry, the need for the organization and federation of labor groups was growing.
2. Industry should be the servant of the people. Only through strong unions could the autocratic power of industrialists be kept in bounds.
3. Legislation for improvement of the worker's condition was the result of organized labor's efforts. After passage of such legislation, the workers needed to be organized to see that the laws were carried out.
4. Members of unions should participate actively in their meetings and discussions in order to educate themselves as much as possible.
5. To insure that the constitutional rights of people would take precedent over property rights, all were to work for enactment of injunction-limitation legislation and defeat for judges and legislators who opposed workers in this.
6. Limiting women's working time to eight hours a day would protect the health and well-being of women.
7. Progress had been made in the compensation of workers, but work must continue to improve this compensation.
8. The race riots in East St. Louis had brought out the misuse of negro labor by industrialists. The organization of negroes was advocated and the union movement was urged to avoid color bias.

9. The co-operative movement had grown; its purpose was to raise the workers' standard of living by keeping the cost of living as low as possible.

10. Since many regular newspapers were restricted in their views of labor by the financial pressures of advertisers, the labor press deserved the support of all unionists.

11. Since it was sometimes necessary for workers to strike to get employers to recognize the good business of fair wages and hours, the convention supported strikes, especially those of the streetcar men of Rockford and Springfield and the lead and zinc smelter workers in Collinsville.

12. Labor realized that it was necessary for its future to uphold democratic government. While it was supporting the war, it was necessary that labor be represented on all councils involved in conducting the war. The convention approved of the work of those members who were serving on various councils.

13. The financial report of the Illinois State Federation of Labor showed an increase of 112 organizations and an increase of \$3,113.75 in financial contributions over the previous year.

14. After studying the legal department of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, the convention decided to disband the department so that emphasis could be put on other activities more essential to the Federation.

15. The report praised the Weekly News Letter. The Federation would send copies not only to the secretaries of affiliated locals but to the presidents as well.

16. The convention upheld the decision of the tellers in the December 1916 general election not to count massed votes.

17. In conclusion, the committee commended the work of the officers and executive board members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.⁴

The first four points lauded the benefits and responsibilities of unionism. Points five through seven listed the main legislative goals of the Federation. The next four sections of the report dealt with general trends and problems within the union movement, and the final five concerned procedures within the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Only the twelfth point mentioned the war and labor's part in it.

⁴Ibid., November 3, 1917, pp. 1, 3.

CHAPTER IV

LEGISLATIVE WORK

Since the Illinois Legislature was in session in 1917, many of the activities of the Illinois State Federation of Labor during this year were devoted to the passage of desired legislation. The Injunction-Limitation and the Women's Eight-Hour Bills received the major attention of the Federation. Also, there were less important bills with which the Federation concerned itself.

The limitation of the injunction, which John Walker called most important and which the Committee on Officers' Reports listed as a prime goal, was basic to the life of the labor unions. The unions regarded the injunction as being selectively used and enforced against them. In many non-union cases judges either did not use or else did not enforce injunctions. John Walker cited the case of the railroads in Illinois. Illinois law forbade the railroads to charge more than 2 cents per mile for passengers. They were charging 2.4 cents a mile on May 7, 1917, when Judge Foell in Cook County issued an injunction against this practice. The railroads were still charging the illegal price on July 7, 1917, and Judge Foell had not cited any railroad officials for contempt. In labor cases, refusal to comply with an injunction brought swift action by the judge.¹

A major problem of the injunction was that once a judge issued an injunction, the union lost either way. If the union disobeyed the

¹Weekly News Letter, July 7, 1917, p. 2.

injunction, the members were breaking the law. However, if they obeyed the injunction and appealed through the courts, this took from six months to as long as two years. By then, even if the appeal was won, the strike would be ended and lost.² The case of the Illinois Malleable Iron Company versus Jan Michalek illustrated this unhappy choice. On July 21, 1916, Michalek posted notice about the strike of iron workers against the company. Because Michalek had publicized the strike, Judge Frederick Smith cited him for contempt. The Supreme Court reversed the decision of Judge Smith but did not rule on the constitutionality of the injunction. The court based its reversal on the fact that the restraining order was vague and the charge against the defendant was not well founded. By the time the court reached this decision, the iron company had broken the strike against it.³

Judges frequently issued injunctions against striking unionists. The restraining orders would go so far as to forbid the laborers to discuss their wages and working conditions with each other. The News Letter complained that the only thing the unions could legally do under some injunctions was to disband the union and surrender to their employer.⁴

The Weekly News Letter of the Illinois State Federation of Labor often noted the use of injunctions. In April of 1917 an injunction was issued on behalf of Kling Brothers Engineering Works against the Molders' Union. An injunction against the barbers on strike against the Imperial Barber Shop was issued at this time also. Judge Jesse Baldwin of Chicago issued an

²Ibid., May 18, 1918, p. 1.

³Ibid., June 30, 1917, p. 1.

⁴Ibid., April 21, 1917, pp. 1-2.

injunction against the White Rats Actors' Union that was so broad that it could be interpreted as forbidding a member of the American Federation of Labor to even attend a performance at one of the theaters in question.⁵ Judge Baldwin, "the Injunction Judge," according to the News Letter, on June 20, 1917, issued an injunction against machinists, brass workers, and laborers who were out on strike against the Addressograph Company in Chicago. The News Letter said that the injunction was against the decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois that the right to strike was a legal right and some interference with the business of the employer was legal.⁶ Judge Welty of the Circuit Court of McLean County issued an injunction against the streetcar workers who were on strike in Bloomington during June of 1917.⁷ On August 4, 1917, Judge J. Otis Humphrey issued an injunction against Local Union 163 of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers who had gone on strike against the St. Louis Smelting and Refining Company of Collinsville, Illinois.⁸

At the October 1917 convention, the Illinois State Federation of Labor instructed the executive board to give all the financial and legal advice it could to the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees in the injunction case growing out of the Springfield streetcar strike.⁹ In April of 1918 there was an injunction case involving the Piano

⁵Ibid., April 14, 1917, p. 2.
Ibid., April 21, 1917, p. 2.

⁶Ibid., June 30, 1917, p. 2.

⁷Ibid., July 14, 1917, p. 1.

⁸Ibid., November 3, 1917, p. 4.

⁹Ibid., November 10, 1917, p. 4.

and Organ Workers' Union on strike against the Lyon and Healy Piano Company in Chicago. Judge Frederick A. Smith fined the union's president, Charles Dodd, \$500 and sentenced him to thirty days in jail. He fined some other men \$300. These sentences were for patrolling and picketing since such acts violated the injunction.¹⁰

There were some bright spots in the injunction picture, however small they may have been. Judge J. Otis Humphrey (this was the same judge that had issued an injunction against the Collinsville strikers) gave a decision on May 30, 1917, in a case between the Aluminum Ore Company and employees who were on strike in East St. Louis. In this decision the judge declared a modified injunction under which he recognized peaceful picketing as being lawful.¹¹ The News Letter described another case as "A Miracle." In April of 1917, Federal Labor Union No. 15365 was on strike against the Coleman Hardware Company at Morris, Illinois. The efforts of Attorney J. W. Rausch of Morris with the co-operation of the legal department of the Illinois State Federation of Labor resulted in the desolving of an injunction against the strike.¹²

It was because of this wide and unfair use of the injunction that the Illinois State Federation of Labor continued its legislative campaign for injunction-limitation. In the spring of 1917, an Injunction-Limitation Bill and two Jury Trial Bills came up for consideration in the State Legislature.

¹⁰Ibid., April 20, 1918, pp. 2-3.

¹¹Ibid., July 14, 1917, p. 3.

¹²Ibid., April 21, 1917, p. 3.

The News Letter reported on the bills as they were being considered. It printed the debates on the bills and the votes on each of the bills.

The Injunction-Limitation Bill (Senate Bill No. 60; House Bill No. 270) was similar to two sections of the Clayton Act that was passed by the United States Congress in 1914. The bill provided that a judge could grant an injunction or restraining order in a dispute between employers and employees only if it was necessary to prevent injury to property or property right. No order could keep people from striking or from helping by peaceful means those who were striking. Also, the bill stated that the labor of a human being was not a commodity or an article of commerce; thus nothing in the anti-trust laws would apply to the unions.¹³

One of the Jury Trial Bills, House Bill No. 127, gave the right of a trial by jury to people who were charged with contempt committed outside the presence of the judge.¹⁴ This would eliminate the situation of a judge issuing an injunction against a strike, being the sole judge of whether or not actions by the workers were in violation of the injunction, and deciding the penalty for the guilty. The second Jury Trial Bill, House Bill No. 128, gave the right of a jury trial to an accused person when his actions would have been considered a criminal offense if the injunction had not been issued.¹⁵

As the Legislature's consideration of the bills approached, the Illinois State Federation of Labor urged its members that the Injunction-

¹³Ibid., March 31, 1917, p. 3.

¹⁴Ibid., April 14, 1917, p. 1.
Ibid., June 2, 1917, pp. 6-7.

¹⁵Ibid., June 2, 1917, p. 7.

Limitation Bill and the Jury Trial Bills should be enacted into law. A full-page announcement in the News Letter called them the "...three most important labor bills now pending in the legislature."¹⁶ The Chicago Federation of Labor scheduled a mass meeting at the Garrick Theater on May 6, 1917, to discuss the abuses of the injunction as used by the judges of Cook County and the pending Injunction-Limitation Bill. Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor, was the main speaker. John Walker and John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, also appeared.¹⁷

There was much opposition to the Injunction-Limitation Bill and the Jury Trial Bills, however. The Chicago Tribune held that the Legislature should not pass such bills during the war.¹⁸ Some opponents of the bill spread rumors that the Council of National Defense had urged the defeat of all progressive labor legislation. They said that Secretary of War Baker had advised against passage of the Injunction-Limitation Bill. Telegrams from Secretary Baker, who was also Chairman of the Council of National Defense, confirmed that he had not advised Governor Lowden to veto the bills. He also stated that the Council of National Defense did not oppose regulations that improved working conditions.¹⁹ Governor Lowden did not take a position on the bills. However, he probably was not disappointed when they did not pass. The Governor always hesitated to curb the power of the judiciary or lessen the legal safeguards of private property.²⁰

¹⁶Ibid., April 21, 1917, p. 4.

¹⁷Ibid., April 28, 1917, p. 1.

¹⁸The Chicago Daily Tribune, May 15, 1917, p. 8.

¹⁹Weekly News Letter, May 5, 1917, p. 1.

²⁰Hutchinson, p. 344.

During the debate in the House of Representatives on the Injunction-Limitation Bill, the proponents of the bill pointed out that the Injunction-Limitation Bill was almost identical to the sections of the Clayton Act which covered the same subject. Passage of this act some three years ago had not led to any gravely disruptive situations. The supporters maintained that the bill would take away a power that the judges had misused. Limiting injunctions would restore constitutional rights to those strikers against whom the injunctions were used. They also argued that the bill should be passed because the full support of the working people was especially needed during wartime.

Those opposed to the bill held that impeachment of the judge was the remedy for the misuse of the power of injunction. Mr. Weber of Cook County called the Injunction-Limitation Bill "one of the worst bills that has come to this House." Opponents predicted that passage of the bill would scare industry away from the state, close down non-union establishments, and severely harm the war effort by its effect on the railroads, the food industries, and the clothing manufacturers.

In debating the first Jury Trial Bill (House Bill No. 127), the proponents held that no one could object to this bill since all it did was give the defendant the right to a trial by jury. This was a basic constitutional right. The opponents objected that in a case involving many men, jury trials could stretch out for many years. Thus trying contempt cases by jury would have the effect of limiting the injunction.

There was little debate on the second Jury Trial Bill (House Bill No. 128). This was probably because the first one had already been defeated and several members had left. However, the objection was made that if House

Bill No. 128 was passed after House Bill No. 127 had been defeated, then a person would be better off if he committed a violent crime rather than a non-violent one while under an injunction.²¹

On May 16, 1917, the Injunction-Limitation Bill and the Jury Trial Bills came up for a vote in the House of Representatives of the Illinois State Legislature. All three were defeated. The defeat on limiting injunctions was by only a narrow margin. The vote on House Bill No. 270 (the Injunction-Limitation Bill) was 73 in favor and 57 against. A total of 77 favorable votes was necessary for passage. House Bill No. 127 (the Jury Trial Bill guarantying the right to a trial by jury in contempt cases) was defeated by a margin of 72 for and 54 against. By the time House Bill No. 128 came up for a vote, several of its supporters had left the floor since they were certain of its defeat. The vote was 68 yes and 51 no.²²

By the time the Injunction-Limitation Bill came up for consideration in the Senate (Senate Bill No. 60) it had already met defeat in the House. Opponents of the bill managed to have it postponed until June 12.²³ At this time the sponsors of the bill learned that the Injunction-Limitation Bill was holding up consideration of the Women's Eight-Hour Bill, so they allowed Senate Bill No. 60 to die without a roll call vote.²⁴

The two bills limiting women's hours of work did not fare any better. These bills had the support of more people, including Governor Lowden on the second one. The Women's Eight-Hour Bill (House Bill No. 126) limited

²¹Weekly News Letter, June 2, 1917, pp. 3-8.

²²Ibid., May 19, 1917, p. 1.

²³Ibid., June 9, 1917, p. 1.

²⁴Ibid., June 16, 1917, p. 1.

the working day of females in all types of establishments to eight hours with a maximum of forty-eight hours a week. The bill exempted only graduate nurses and nurses in hospital operating rooms.²⁵ On April 25, 1917, opponents of this bill tried to keep it from being considered by the entire House. The Committee on Industrial Affairs of the House of Representatives of the Illinois Legislature had voted to recommend non-passage of the bill. The Committee had recommended defeat of the bill because of the war situation. Opponents of the bill maintained that a letter to Governor Lowden from Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War and Chairman of the Council of National Defense, contained instructions that work rules should not be changed to sanction shorter hours during the war.

However, proponents of the bill quoted Samuel Gompers, who was the Chairman of the Labor Committee for the Council of National Defense. Gompers said that the Council was aware that the eight-hour day was for the greatest productivity of the workers. The intention of the Council was to keep the states from raising the maximum number of working hours.²⁶ The Illinois State Federation of Labor supported the Women's Eight-Hour Bill as being necessary, especially in the time of war, for the protection of the health of women workers.²⁷ The Chicago Tribune supported passage of the legislation saying that it was necessary for "The careful conservation of womanhood under modern economic conditions."²⁸

²⁵Ibid., January 20, 1917, p. 4.

²⁶Ibid., April 28, 1917, pp. 1-2.

²⁷Ibid., May 12, 1917, p. 1.

²⁸The Chicago Daily Tribune, April 6, 1917, p. 6.

In debating whether or not to even consider the Eight-Hour Bill in the full House, several members took the stand that the bill was important enough to merit a full review by all the members of the House. They held that it should not die after just a fifteen-to-ten vote in committee. However, others talked against the bill itself, arguing that the women really did not want or need to have their hours limited. Others protested the hardships the bill would put on small hotels, telephone exchanges, etc. These establishments needed workers on duty more than eight hours a day and could not afford a large staff with staggered hours.²⁹ However, the eight-hour bill did pass the first hurdle. Needing only a simple majority to win, the motion to table the motion to non-concur in the report of the Committee on Industrial Affairs (which recommended defeating the bill) was defeated by a vote of 74 to 49. (A vote against the motion to table was a vote for the Women's Eight-Hour Bill.). The Women's Eight-Hour Bill, House Bill No. 126, moved on to its first reading.³⁰

On May 23, 1917, a motion to amend the bill by striking out its enacting clause killed it. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 68 to 66 and House Bill No. 126 was finished.³¹

Governor Lowden later resurrected the cause of limited working hours for women. On June 4, 1917, he sent to the Legislature a new bill drafted by his administration. This bill was selective in its limiting of the hours of work for women. Though many limits were just eight hours, several

²⁹Weekly News Letter, May 5, 1917, pp. 2-3.

³⁰Ibid., p. 2.

³¹Ibid., May 26, 1917, p. 1.

establishments were allowed more. The provisions were varied: offices, stores, telephone and telegraph offices with less than five operators; hotels, restaurants, newspapers, and printers in cities of less than 15,000 could have a ten-hour day. The bill restricted factories, public utilities, public institutions, transportation facilities, amusement places, telephone and telegraph offices with more than five operators; hotels, restaurants, newspapers, and printers in cities larger than 15,000 to an eight-hour working day. Laundries could maintain a fifty-two-hour week--2 ten-hour days and the rest eight-hour ones. The canneries were important in considering legislation of this type because of the need to process crops quickly and at a certain time. The bill allowed them to have twelve-hour working days for fifteen days in any six weeks between June 15 and October 15 and eight-hour days all other times.³² These limits were not as low as those in the first bill to limit the hours of work for women, but John Walker accepted the conditions as being the best that could be hoped for at the time.³³

Governor Lowden's bill, Senate Bill No. 605, met defeat in the Illinois Senate after a large lobby led by Dudley Taylor and John M. Glenn opposed it. Dudley Taylor represented the Associated Employers of Illinois, and John Glenn served as the Secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association.³⁴ Under the Senate rules the bill needed 26 yes votes to pass. The vote was

³²Ibid., June 9, 1917, p. 2.

³³Walker to Robert Osborn, June 1, 1917, Springfield, Illinois, in Walker Papers. Osborn was a friend of Walker's and was in Kentucky at this time working for the United Mine Workers.

³⁴Weekly News Letter, June 16, 1917, p. 1.

24 yes, 10 no, 7 present, and 8 no answer or absent. After this, opponents of the bill motioned that the vote be reconsidered then tabled the motion. Thus, the bill could not be presented again.³⁵

The Injunction-Limitation Bill, the Jury Trial Bills, and the Women's Eight-Hour Bills were the most important labor legislation that the 1917 Legislature considered. However, other issues did concern the legislators during the war. None of the measures were directly connected with the war; but, as illustrated by the arguments on the bills previously discussed, the war was present.

An amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1911 was successful in June. The Illinois Senate passed the amendment, Senate Bill No. 471, on June 1, 1917, by a 34-to-2 vote.³⁶ After receiving support from Governor Lowden, it passed in the House of Representatives also.³⁷ The amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Act provided that employers in hazardous occupations, including mines, common carriers, and some types of manufacturing, had to submit accident cases to the newly created Industrial Commission for adjustment. Most of the decisions of the Commission were final without an appeal to the courts. Before passage of this amendment, an employee had to hire a lawyer and take court action on his own to receive compensation.³⁸

Another small victory for labor came with a bill that it successfully blocked. House Bill No. 695 was to regulate safety in the building

³⁵Ibid., June 23, 1917, p. 2.

³⁶Ibid., June 2, 1917, p. 2.

³⁷Ibid., June 16, 1917, p. 1.

³⁸Hutchinson, p. 342.

trades. The building contractors' organization in Chicago sponsored it and the Illinois State Federation of Labor opposed it. The reason for this opposition was that the bill left enforcement entirely to local departments. Under the safety act then in force, which this new one would have replaced, the state Department of Labor had the power to enforce the safety provisions if the local departments did not. The bill passed both houses of the State Legislature but Governor Lowden vetoed it.³⁹

The 1917 General Assembly also established two commissions that were directly connected with the working people. One of these was the Health Insurance Commission. Governor Lowden appointed it to report on the question of health insurance by the state. The Commission would make its recommendations to the 1919 Legislature. The Commission included not only professionals in the health fields and businessmen but also Matthew Woll, the President of the International Photo Engravers Union, and Mary McEnerney of the Bindery Women's Union.⁴⁰ The Illinois State Federation of Labor, at its 1917 convention, came out in favor of a state insurance plan.⁴¹ When the Commission was gathering data for its study in the summer of 1918, the News Letter urged all locals to help facilitate the study by answering the questionnaires that the Health Insurance Commission had sent.⁴²

³⁹Weekly News Letter, June 16, 1917, p. 1.

Ibid., July 7, 1917, p. 2.

Earl R. Beckner, A History of Labor Legislation in Illinois (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 247-248.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 483-484.

Weekly News Letter, January 26, 1918, p. 3.

⁴¹Ibid., November 10, 1917, p. 4.

⁴²Ibid., July 6, 1918, p. 2.

The Illinois Industrial Survey Commission undertook the task of investigating working hours for women and recommending legislation on this subject. It counted two women trade unionists among its seven members. They were Agnes Nestor, President of the Women's Trade Union League, and Elizabeth Maloney of the Waitresses' Union. Dr. Frank Billings of Chicago served as the Chairman of the Commission. The two other doctors on the Commission, who also were from Chicago, were Drs. James B. Herrick and George W. Webster. Milton S. Florsheim, President of the Chicago shoe company of the same name, and P. C. Withers of the Illinois Knitting Company of Mt. Vernon were the two industrial members.⁴³ The Commission reached the conclusion that fatigue did not seem to be a cause of accidents, but the eight-hour day was the best, both for the health of the workers and for the volume of production. A minority report signed by the two manufacturers who were on the commission contested these findings. Dudley Taylor of the Associated Employers of Illinois drew up the minority report.⁴⁴ He had been one of the lobbyists against the Women's Eight-Hour Bills in the summer of 1917.

During 1918 John Walker was a member of the General Advisory Board for the Free Employment Offices. These offices were part of the Illinois

⁴³Ibid., January 26, 1918, p. 1.
Beckner, pp. 210-211.

In February of 1918, Dr. Frank Billings was called to Washington for army duties. Dr. James Herrick replaced him as Chairman of the Commission. Dr. Solomon Strauss of Chicago then took the vacant seat as a Commission member.

Weekly News Letter, February 9, 1918, p. 1.

⁴⁴Beckner, pp. 216-218.

State Department of Labor. Chicago, East St. Louis, Peoria, Rockford, Rock Island, and Springfield each had an employment office. During the year ending June 30, 1918, the Free Employment Offices placed 205,178 people in jobs.⁴⁵

The 1917 convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor passed numerous resolutions on matters to be referred to either the Governor or the next session of the State Legislature. The question of convict labor was one of these. The Federation was not only interested in blocking any production by the prisons that might interfere with free enterprise but also in making certain that proper safety regulations were enforced in the penal institutions' factories. The convention wanted the Governor to appoint a representative of the workers to the Managing Committee of the Chicago State Hospital. They also wanted him to appoint a practical bakery worker as a deputy factory inspector. The Federation wanted to pass in the next legislature an amendment to the Wash House Law (to make employers supply sufficient facilities for all employees), the Carmen's Shed Bill, a change in the time limit for inspection of mines, an increase in testing equipment for the State Factory Inspector's office, and a law requiring certain health and safety regulations for the building trades. In addition, the convention voted to reintroduce the Painters' Health Bill, to widen the scope of the Workmen's Compensation Act, to get a Sunday closing law for barber shops, to gain passage of a law to provide a more liberal system of exemptions of workmen's homes from attachments in suits at law, and to get a uniform textbook system in the Illinois schools.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Jenison, pp. 282-283.

⁴⁶Weekly News Letter, October 27, 1917, p. 1.

Ibid., November 3, 1917, p. 1.

Not all of the convention's resolutions pertained solely to Illinois. The Illinois State Federation of Labor objected to a proposed increase in postal rates for second class mail and the introduction of zoned mailing rates. The Federation considered the new rates bad for the labor press which depended upon the mail for much of its circulation. Also, the convention urged congress to increase the wages of post office employees. The Federation asked President Wilson to call a conference to discuss telephone and telegraph connections to military training camps. It advocated passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to give women the right to vote. The Federation urged the government to adopt the policy of equal pay for equal work. The Federation asked the President to include representatives of organized labor at any peace conferences that might be held. The convention went on record in favor of changing the Congress of the United States to be made up of the House of Representatives only and changing the State Legislature to a unicameral body.⁴⁷

Though it progressed slowly, organized labor did manage to eventually secure much of the legislation that was essential to the workingman. The Illinois State Federation of Labor played an important role in getting labor bills passed.⁴⁸ The Federation used election campaigning as one means of securing favorable laws. The Illinois State Federation of Labor supported

Ibid., November 10, 1917, p. 4.

Ibid., November 17, 1917, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁷Ibid., October 27, 1917, p. 1.

Ibid., November 10, 1917, p. 4.

Ibid., November 17, 1917, p. 4.

Ibid., June 1, 1918, p. 1.

⁴⁸Beckner, p. 505.

candidates sympathetic to labor and loudly opposed those who had voted against labor legislation. The 1917 convention instructed the executive board to work for the election of legislators favorable to labor and for the defeat of those opposed to it. A raise of 2 cents a quarter in the per capita tax charged all locals financed this work. Also the convention unanimously adopted that local unions and central bodies should appoint committees to call on local judicial candidates. The committee would determine the candidates' views on the use of the injunction in labor disputes and report these views to their members.⁴⁹

As the elections scheduled for the fall of 1918 drew near, the executive board began planning labor's strategy. The President and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor appointed Al Towers of Belleville, who was the sixth vice president of the Federation, to be in charge of the legislative campaign of the Federation. His duties included compiling reports on the labor record of all candidates running for the Legislature and to keep the unionists informed. The executive board decided that the Federation would not give money directly to the locals for campaign purposes. Instead, the Federation would supply speakers and literature wherever they were needed. The executive board also stated that if the proposal for a constitutional convention was passed, labor must be prepared to see that it was well represented at the convention.⁵⁰

⁴⁹Weekly News Letter, November 3, 1917, p. 1.

Ibid., November 17, 1917, p. 4.

This brought the per capita tax up to 5 cents per quarter. Organizations composed entirely of women paid a per capita tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ cent per month.

⁵⁰Ibid., July 27, 1918, pp. 1-2.

Ibid., August 31, 1918, p. 2.

During August of 1918, as the September primaries approached, the Weekly News Letter reminded the labor members how to vote. Banner headlines proclaimed "Remember! The Records on the Injunction-Limitation Bill and The Women's Eight-Hour Bill." Below, the voting records of all the State Senators and Representatives on those bills were listed.⁵¹

After the results of the primaries were in, labor was very happy that twenty of the legislators who had opposed labor legislation had either not sought re-election or else lost. The Illinois State Federation of Labor was especially happy about the defeat of John F. Lynch, who had been quoted as saying, "I do not need the vote of the Trade Unionists." R. G. Soderstrom, a trade unionist, defeated O. E. Benson, who was supported by John M. Glenn, Secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. Frank P. Caviezel and James McGloom, who had promised to support labor measures and then had broken their promises also lost in the primaries. The News Letter mentioned George R. Bruce and William P. Haliday as primary winners who were labor supporters.⁵² Soderstrom won election as a State Representative from the thirty-ninth district. George Bruce was not the next State Senator from the twenty-third district as the News Letter had predicted. William P. Haliday (the Blue Book spelled it Holaday) gained re-election as a State Representative from the twenty-second district.⁵³

⁵¹Ibid., August 17, 1918, p. 1.

⁵²Ibid., September 21, 1918, p. 1.
Ibid., October 26, 1918, p. 1.

⁵³Louis L. Emmerson (ed.), Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1919-1920 (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Company, 1919), pp. 214-216, 248.

The Illinois State Federation of Labor also urged its members to vote in favor of the proposal to call a constitutional convention. The old constitution had outlived its usefulness and "special privileges favoring the few and militating harshly against the masses have thrived under the present constitution."⁵⁴

The Illinois legislative session of 1917 was not a successful one in the eyes of organized labor. John Walker complained that the amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Act was the only piece of labor legislation to survive in 1917. He attributed this to the fact that "The corporation interests are in absolute control of this session."⁵⁵

⁵⁴Weekly News Letter, October 26, 1918, p. 1.

⁵⁵Walker to Robert Osborn, May 24, 1917, Springfield, Illinois, in Walker Papers.

CHAPTER V

STRIKES

The Chicago Tribune called the sporadic strike a curse. While admitting that the blame for a strike did not always rest on one side or the other, the newspaper stated that "The strike should cease as a legitimate form of industrial pressure during the war."¹ However, strikes were not a large problem in Illinois during the war. The coal and the stockyards problems, which did have the potential to affect the war efforts of the state, reached satisfactory conclusions. There were no major strikes in the vital industries connected with war production. John Walker wrote that there were fewer strikes during the war than at any other time in the history of Illinois.² In a letter to Governor Lowden, Samuel Insull, Chairman of the State Council of Defense, stated that the two factors which helped Illinois in its contribution to winning the war were that Illinois accepted the draft and other government war measures without quibble, and that there was "not one strike of importance in the state during the war period."³

The Illinois State Federation of Labor supported strikes that were in progress in various parts of the state during this time. However, it

¹The Chicago Daily Tribune, October 25, 1917, p. 8.
Ibid., November 13, 1917, p. 8.

²Emmerson, Blue Book 1919-1920, p. 112. Pages 110 to 113 in the Blue Book contained an article "Labor and the War" written by John Walker.

³Final Report of the State Council of Defense of Illinois, pp. 1-2.

did not often support the idea of a general strike. At the 1917 convention the Committee on Resolutions recommended defeat of two resolutions that called for the use of the general strike. One was that the Federation call a general strike in support of the defendants in the Mooney case in California. The other proposed that the Federation should declare a general strike whenever gunmen were brought into a peaceful strike.⁴

One of the longest and probably most publicized strikes during the war period was that of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America against the Springfield Consolidated Railway Company. The owner of the company was the Holdenpyle-Hardy Syndicate of New York, which controlled all the public utilities of Springfield. The issues involved were low wages and the right to organize. The men struck on July 25, 1917. In August an agreement was reached, but after the men went back to work the company refused to recognize the union. They went out on strike again. The union claimed that the company had eight hundred guards and at least fifty special deputies fighting the strike.⁵ The Illinois State Federation of Labor supported the strike both by publicity and by fund appeals. After the militia broke up a peaceful march in support of the strikers on Sunday, September 9, a general strike occurred in Springfield during the week of September 10. The unions won this part of the battle. Springfield businessmen met with the workers, and the militia and special deputies left the city. A peaceful march was successful on September 16. This helped to boost the position of organized labor among the

⁴Weekly News Letter, November 10, 1917, p. 4.

⁵Ibid., September 8, 1917, pp. 3-4.

Ibid., November 24, 1917, p. 2.

Ibid., January 12, 1918, p. 1.

workers, but the streetcar strike was still on.⁶ The Chicago Tribune blamed both the company for being stubborn and lacking in respect for the public good and the strikers for certain sinister influences on their side. The newspaper called the strike an example of what happened when labor problems simmered without adjustment before things reached the breaking point.⁷ The strike lasted until late in July of 1918 despite earlier efforts at reaching a settlement.⁸

Samuel Insull, at the request of John Walker, had attempted to help settle the strike. He was unsuccessful in persuading the owners to come to terms with the union. Better results came from Insull's efforts to help settle the streetcar strikes in both Bloomington and Danville. Walker called the Bloomington agreement "...a grand settlement in the face of the situation that existed there...."⁹ John Walker held that getting Insull to use his association with the owners involved to help get a satisfactory settlement was one of the good results that came from the labor leader's work on the wartime councils. By this work, Walker formed a personal association with certain industrialists.¹⁰

Two other strikes which occurred during this time were not particularly significant in terms of the war. However, they did show some of the

⁶Ibid., September 22, 1917, pp. 3-4.

⁷The Chicago Daily Tribune, September 14, 1917, p. 6.

⁸Weekly News Letter, August 3, 1918, p. 2.

⁹Walker to Mother Jones, July 12, 1917, Springfield, Illinois, in Walker Papers.

¹⁰Walker to Germer, November 13, 1917, Buffalo, New York, in Walker Papers.

problems facing organized labor at this time. A strike of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers against the St. Louis Smelting and Refining Company at Collinsville, Illinois, received the unanimous support of the Illinois State Federation of Labor at its October 1917 convention. During the convention the delegates collected \$85.64 for the strikers.¹¹ The workers went on strike on August 4, 1917. The company imported thugs and negro strikebreakers to break the strike. Several of the Collinsville strikers were brought to trial for violating the injunction issued by Judge Humphrey. By his conduct at the trials, the United States District Attorney, E. C. Knotts of Springfield, caused the Illinois State Federation of Labor to complain bitterly to Samuel Gompers. The Federation urged Gompers to use his influence with the Attorney General to have Mr. Knotts resign. According to the Federation, Mr. Knotts appeared at three trials which were held on October 29 and 30, 1917. He made the closing statements as the prosecutor and aid to the attorneys of the St. Louis Smelting and Refining Company. Thus he gave the impression that the United States government was interested in the convictions of the strikers. The Federation's letter to Mr. Gompers went on to say that public sympathy in the Collinsville area had been on the side of the strikers both because of the fumes that were put out from the plant and because so many employees of the plant suffered from lead poisoning. By using Mr. Knotts the company was trying to turn favorable opinion away from the workers and toward the company.¹²

¹¹Weekly News Letter, November 3, 1917, p. 1.
Ibid., November 10, 1917, p. 4.

¹²Ibid., November 3, 1917, p. 1.
Ibid., November 10, 1917, pp. 1-2.

In a strike against the L. Wolff Manufacturing Company in Chicago, the Illinois State Federation of Labor felt that the cause of the working-man had been undermined by the Justice Department. The workers went on strike in July of 1917 for an increase in wages and an end to the piecework system. John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, complained in a letter to William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, that the officials of the Wolff Manufacturing Company had gotten an order from the Department of Justice to the United States Marshal in their district to make officers of the company deputy marshals. Thus they could intimidate the strikers. Fitzpatrick said that so far the only violence had been when gunmen employed by the company had beaten some strikers and when Mr. Wolff shot at some pickets to scare them. Mr. Wilson replied that he had received Fitzpatrick's letter and had referred the matter to the Attorney General. The Illinois State Federation of Labor also complained in a letter to President Wilson that agents of the FBI had arrested labor leaders involved in the Wolff strike in the belief that they were agitators for the IWW. The Federation said that the FBI should consult with the Department of Labor in such cases. Then the agents could tell the agitators from the patriotic labor leaders.¹³

During the war several other strikes occurred in the state of Illinois, but none of them were very wide in scope or involved industries important to the war work. On July 28, 1917, in Chicago, switchmen affiliated with the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen struck over rules for employment, promotion, and dismissal. However, the strike only lasted forty-eight hours,

¹³Ibid., August 11, 1917, pp. 1, 4.

Ibid., September 1, 1917, p. 4.

since a conference between railway managers and labor leaders soon settled it. The members of the Switchmen's Union of America, which was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, remained at work and did not participate in the strike.¹⁴

The Illinois State Federation of Labor in its Weekly News Letter publicized other strikes. Appeals for funds were made and in some cases special committees gave aid to the local in reaching a satisfactory settlement. In September of 1917, workers went out on strike against the Roxana Oil Refining Company of Alton. The News Letter reported that the company had imported gunmen from the Burns Detective Agency and was trying to get strikebreakers from other towns.¹⁵ The citizens of Belleville protested to the Attorney General when strikebreakers working for the Orbon Stove and Range Company fired into a peaceful crowd and wounded six people, including a policeman. The accused strikebreakers appeared before a police magistrate but left town without posting bond.¹⁶ The Illinois State Federation of Labor helped the janitors at the University of Illinois to win their four-day strike for higher wages in July of 1917.¹⁷ In Joliet, Local No. 801 of the International Union of Waitresses won recognition from the restaurants of that city after being out for three weeks in January and February of 1918.¹⁸

¹⁴Ernest Ludlow Bogart and John Mabry Mathews, The Modern Commonwealth 1893-1918 ("The Centennial History of Illinois," Vol. V; Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1920), p. 483.

Jenison, p. 272.

¹⁵Weekly News Letter, September 29, 1917, p. 1.

¹⁶Ibid., September 14, 1918, p. 2.

¹⁷Ibid., August 4, 1917, pp. 3-4.

Ibid., August 10, 1918, p. 1.

¹⁸Ibid., February 16, 1918, p. 2.

In July of 1918, the Illinois State Federation of Labor sent a committee of five to Joliet to help settle a strike at the Woodruff Inn by the Bartenders' and Waitresses' Unions.¹⁹ A strike at the Springfield Zinc plant during the summer of 1918 was for union recognition.²⁰ Also for recognition was the strike in July of 1917 against the Holt Manufacturing Company of Peoria.²¹ In Chicago, a strike started on July 2, 1917, by the Journey-men Barbers' International Union was successful within a couple of weeks.²²

None of these strikes were destructive towards the war work of the state. They were mainly local disruptions and did not affect the vast network of industries producing the necessities for the waging of the war.

¹⁹Ibid., July 27, 1918, p. 1.

²⁰Ibid., June 29, 1918, p. 4.

²¹Ibid., September 8, 1917, p. 2.

²²Ibid., July 21, 1917, p. 3.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER INTERESTS

The Illinois State Federation of Labor had other interests besides the major issues that concerned it during World War I. One of these other interests was the co-operative store. The co-operative movement was a special interest of John Walker. The Weekly News Letter publicized the formation of co-operatives and issued frequent reports on their progress. The paper often urged the individual locals that did not yet have a co-op to form one. Walker saw a strong connection between the union and the co-operative. At a meeting of representatives from Illinois co-operatives held in Springfield on September 25, 1918, Walker called the union and the co-op the workingman's best friends, the one getting him the best pay and the other getting him more for his money.¹

Another issue of interest within the Illinois State Federation of Labor during this time was the method of electing officers for the Federation. Under the method then in use, each member of a local union had one vote, and each central body had a total of three votes. In December votes from the locals were sent to the tellers to be counted, and the tellers announced the election results in January. Some members wanted to change this referendum form for the election of officers at the annual fall convention. There was talk that some of the delegates at the October 1917 convention would try to change the election process. Some members thought

¹Weekly News Letter, October 12, 1918, p. 4.

that the Chicago delegates might try to seize control of the Federation by using this method. However, when the matter came up for discussion, the Chicago delegates, in order to keep unity in the organization, did not contest the motion that the elections would remain the same.²

Piecework was another concern of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. At the 1917 convention, the Committee on Resolutions recommended approving a resolution that the Federation go on record as opposing piecework. However, the subsequent discussion brought out the different roles that piecework played in the different industries from the shop trades to mines and railroads. The convention decided to appoint a special committee to study the problem of piecework and report to the convention the following year. Once the committee started its investigation, it decided to concentrate on the practice of paying bonuses. Some employers used this practice to avoid overtime and permanent wage increases. The employers' idea was that since the bonus was not part of the set wage scale he could drop it whenever it suited him.³ The committee asked the locals to have any of their members who were receiving bonuses to answer certain questions. These questions were about the nature of their work, why the workers thought the employer was giving the bonus, and what they thought would happen to the bonus when the war was over. The answers would give the committee an over-all view of the use of the bonus.⁴

²Ibid., November 17, 1917, pp. 1, 4.

³Ibid., October 27, 1917, pp. 1-2.

Ibid., July 27, 1918, p. 1.

⁴Ibid., August 24, 1918, p. 5.

In order to extend the benefits of unionism to as many workers in the state as possible, the Illinois State Federation of Labor sought to help organize any workers in the state who needed such assistance. The Weekly News Letter mentioned the organization of negro workers. A resolution passed at the 1917 convention of the Federation urged all central bodies, local unions, and organizers to organize negro workers.⁵ In November of 1918 the News Letter printed an article by John Riely, negro organizer for the American Federation of Labor. Riely asked negro leaders to advise their followers to join the trade union movement for the betterment of all.⁶

The Illinois State Federation of Labor also was interested in the railroad workers. One resolution adopted at the October 1917 convention urged all members to assist in organizing the car workers of the state into the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. Another resolution instructed the officers of the Federation to make every effort to bring into the Illinois State Federation of Labor all the Illinois locals of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.⁷

The cities in which the conventions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor were held also became organizing targets of the Federation. The Federation decided that whenever a city became the site of the annual convention, then an effort would be made to organize the cooks, waiters, and waitresses in that city. Thus the delegates could patronize union places.

⁵Ibid., November 10, 1917, p. 3.

⁶Ibid., November 16, 1918, p. 2.

⁷Ibid., November 17, 1917, p. 3.

In connection with this, a list would be prepared for the convention delegates listing where union goods, hotel and restaurant services were available.⁸

The proceedings from the 1917 convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor show some of the organizing goals that were decided upon for the coming year. The Federation urged organization of the postal workers. It called for help for the Bakery Workers' Union in its effort to organize throughout the state. The convention also mentioned the organization of the hotel and restaurant workers in Chicago, the Star-Peerless Wall Paper Mill of Joliet, and the Rand-McNally Company.⁹ These samples show that the Federation was not concentrating on only a few fields. The types of workers that the Federation helped organize varied widely.

The unfair list of the Illinois State Federation of Labor was closely connected with the unions' campaign to organize workers. Companies that refused to deal with the unions and those whose goods were produced by strikebreakers joined the list. In connection with the attempt to organize Rand-McNally Company, the Federation urged its affiliates to discourage contracts for schoolbooks with that company until the labor difficulties could be settled.¹⁰ Also placed on the unfair list during the 1917 convention were The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (at the request of Tea, Coffee, and Egg Salesmen's Union No. 722 of Chicago,)¹¹ the Thomas A. Edison

⁸Ibid., October 27, 1917, p. 2.

⁸Ibid., November 10, 1917, p. 3.

⁹Ibid., November 3, 1917, p. 1

⁹Ibid., November 10, 1917, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 3.

¹¹Ibid., November 3, 1917, p. 1.

Company of West Orange, New Jersey,¹² and Excelsior Stove and Range Company of Quincy, Illinois. The Illinois State Federation of Labor also informed its members that "Style Plus" and other brands of clothing that were made by the Henry Sonneborn Company of Baltimore were produced by strikebreakers.¹³

The opposite of the boycott was the drive to patronize the union label. There were always several short articles and reminders in the Weekly News Letter to inform members of the need to look for the union label on their purchases. It reminded the readers that the purchase of union label goods would help strengthen the trade union movement. At the convention in 1917, delegates answered on a card how easy it was for them to purchase union-label goods in their communities. The secretary collected and compiled this information. In addition to urging members generally to buy union-label goods, the Illinois State Federation of Labor also mentioned when specific labels became recognized. The Federation endorsed the label of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union and urged its members to buy union-label brooms.¹⁴ Cigars were another specifically mentioned item. The News Letter told all members to buy the union label especially when purchasing cigars. This would help the cigar makers who were not as well organized outside of Chicago as they should have been.¹⁵

Throughout World War I, the Illinois State Federation of Labor continued its normal activities in addition to a heavy load of war work.

¹²Ibid., November 17, 1917, p. 4.

¹³Ibid., November 10, 1917, p. 3.

¹⁴Ibid., October 27, 1917, p. 2.

¹⁵Ibid., February 9, 1918, p. 1.

The Federation fought for legislation, supported its striking members, encouraged co-ops, worked on the many other parts which made up the whole of organized labor, and never did it forget to remind its members to buy the union label.

CONCLUSION

The position of labor was strengthened during World War I. The federal government encouraged increases in wages, decreases in hours, and better working conditions. The loss of immigration caused by the war and the draining off of men from the labor pool helped make labor a scarce commodity.¹ The New Republic stated in September of 1918 that "an almost revolutionary change has taken place in the position of labor within the community." The article continued to assert that there were more jobs than workers and many more skilled jobs than skilled workers.² The National War Labor Board adopted guidelines which recognized the labor unions and the workers' right to organize. The United States Administrator for the Stockyards Agreement made decisions that were very favorable to the workers. These benefits lasted for awhile after the war. Further awards were made by Judge Alschuler in 1919 and 1920. The peak in benefits was reached on December 7, 1920.³

In Illinois, the Illinois State Federation of Labor filled an important role in the war effort. Its officers frequently served on committees at both the state and national level. Also, by its active support of the country at war, the Federation made clear its patriotic stand to those who grouped responsible labor leaders with the more radical, anti-war elements of the labor movement.

¹Rayback, p. 275.

²"Labor In 1918," pp. 156-157.

³Keiser, "John Fitzpatrick," p. 42.

The material gain or loss of the workers during the war is difficult to determine. However, despite some differences of opinion, it appears that labor did gain materially during the war. William T. Hutchinson, Governor Lowden's biographer, wrote that wages failed to keep pace with the rise in the cost of living.⁴ John M. Glenn, Secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, stated that "The workingman has never before been so prosperous. He may complain of the high cost of living, but his wages have increased to meet the advanced prices...." (In the same article, Glenn complained that the increase in price of materials, increase in wages, and high taxes had left the manufacturer less prosperous than was generally believed.)⁵

The census reports give some idea as to changes in the hours and earnings of the workers. The number of workers in manufacturing and their prevailing hours of labor per week were listed in one table. In 1914, only 15½ per cent worked forty-eight hours per week or less. At this time 65 per cent worked fifty-four hours or more a week. In 1919, 54½ per cent worked forty-eight hours or less. Only 23 per cent worked fifty-four or more hours a week. These figures were for Illinois.⁶ They show that most workers did have a shorter work week in 1919 than they had had before the war.

⁴Hutchinson, pp. 346-347.

⁵Emmerson, Blue Book 1917-1918, p. 30. Pages 29 and 30 in the Blue Book contained an article "Industrial Growth of Illinois" written by John M. Glenn.

⁶U. S., Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920. Manufactures, VII, p. 81.

The annual, "real" per capita earnings for all manufacturing industries increased during the war. The "real wages" took into account purchasing power. The amounts were in terms of 1914 dollars. In 1914, annual real wages averaged from \$650 to \$699 in Illinois. By 1919 this figure for the state had risen to \$800 to \$840.⁷ However, some industries did not fare as well as others. The census figures showed increases in the real wages in the men and women's clothing industries and book and job printing. The real wages in newspaper and magazine printing and agricultural and electric machinery manufacturing declined between 1914 and 1919.⁸

Census figures show general trends. They do not mean that every worker in Illinois was making over \$800 in 1914 money in 1919. However, the amount of income earned by the average worker and whether or not this income was sufficient for his family's needs is not what is being considered. These figures are given simply to note that between 1914 and 1919 there was an increase in average real wages in the manufacturing industries. Thus generally speaking, workers in Illinois did show an improvement in their hours and wages after World War I.

⁷Brissenden, p. 132.

⁸Brissenden, pp. 162-163.

APPENDIX A

State Council of Defense of Illinois--Standing Committees

Auditing:

David E. Shanahan, Chairman
John H. Walker
John P. Hopkins

Industrial Survey:

John P. Hopkins, Chairman
John A. Spoor
Victor A. Olander

Co-ordination of Societies:

Fred W. Upham, Chairman
Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen
John H. Walker

Labor:

John H. Walker, Chairman
John H. Harrison
Dr. Frank Billings

Food, Fuel, and Conservation:

J. Ogden Armour, Chairman
John A. Spoor
B. F. Harris

Sanitation, Medicine and

Public Health:

Dr. Frank Billings, Chairman
Charles H. Wacker
Fred W. Upham

Law and Legislation:

Levy Mayer, Chairman
John G. Oglesby
David E. Shanahan

Survey of Manpower:

Victor A. Olander, Chairman
John H. Harrison
Charles H. Wacker

Military Affairs,

State and Local Defense:

John G. Oglesby, Chairman
Dr. Frank Billings
David E. Shanahan

Women's Organizations:

Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Chairman
Charles H. Wacker
Fred W. Upham

Publicity:

Samuel Insull, Chairman
John H. Harrison
Victor A. Olander

War History:

Samuel Insull, Chairman
Charles H. Wacker
John H. Walker
Roger C. Sullivan
Victor A. Olander

APPENDIX B

PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES OF THE NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD

THERE SHOULD BE NO STRIKES OR LOCKOUTS DURING THE WAR

RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

1. The right of workers to organize in trade-unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.

2. The right of employers to organize in associations or groups and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever.

3. Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade-unions, nor for legitimate trade-union activities.

4. The workers, in the exercise of their right to organize, shall not use coercive measures of any kind to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith.

EXISTING CONDITIONS

1. In establishments where the union shop exists the same shall continue, and the union standards as to wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment shall be maintained.

2. In establishments where union and nonunion men and women now work together and the employer meets only with employees or representatives engaged in said establishments, the continuance of such condition shall not be deemed a grievance. This declaration, however, is not intended in any manner to deny the right or discourage the practice of the formation of labor unions or the joining of the same by the workers in said establishments, as guaranteed in the last paragraph, nor to prevent the War Labor Board from urging or any umpire from granting, under the machinery herein provided, improvement of their situation in the matter of wages, hours of labor, or other conditions as shall be found desirable from time to time.

3. Established safeguards and regulations for the protection of the health and safety of workers shall not be relaxed.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

If it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work and must not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength.

HOURS OF LABOR

The basic eight-hour day is recognized as applying in all cases in which existing law requires it. In all other cases the question of hours of labor shall be settled with due regard to governmental necessities and the welfare, health, and proper comfort of the workers.

MAXIMUM PRODUCTION

The maximum production of all war industries should be maintained and methods of work and operation on the part of employers or workers which operate to delay or limit production, or which have a tendency to artificially increase the cost thereof, should be discouraged.

MOBILIZATION OF LABOR

For the purpose of mobilizing the labor supply with a view to its rapid and effective distribution, a permanent list of the number of skilled and other workers available in different parts of the nation shall be kept on file by the Department of Labor, the information to be constantly furnished--

1. By the trade-unions.
2. By state employment bureaus and Federal agencies of like character.
3. By the managers and operators of industrial establishments throughout the country.

These agencies shall be given opportunity to aid in the distribution of labor as necessity demands.

CUSTOM OF LOCALITIES

In fixing wages, hours, and conditions of labor, regard should always be had to the labor standards, wage scales, and other conditions prevailing in the localities affected.

THE LIVING WAGE

1. The right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared.

2. In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort.

From the Weekly News Letter, May 18, 1918, p. 1.

APPENDIX C

TABLE 18: AVERAGE NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS, BY PREVAILING HOURS OF LABOR PER WEEK

Hours Worked Per Week	<u>Illinois Wage Earners</u>	
	<u>1914</u>	<u>1919</u>
44 and Under	*	95,221 (14½%)
44-48	*	28,194 (4½%)
48	79,601 (15½%)	229,427 (35½%)
48-54	99,322 (19½%)	146,879 (22½%)
54	113,574 (22½%)	44,746 (6½%)
54-60	102,074 (20½%)	68,615 (10½%)
60	88,238 (17½%)	22,881 (3½%)
Over 60	<u>24,134</u> (4½%)	<u>17,151</u> (2½%)
TOTAL	506,943	653,114

*The average number of wage earners working under 48 hours per week in 1914 is included in the total of those working 48 hours per week.

From the Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920. Manufactures, VII, p. 81. (Percentages mine)

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